

## ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF ALALAH LEVEL VII

by

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The family tree drawn by B. Landsberger<sup>1</sup> which was infinitely more detailed than that reconstructed by D. J. Wiseman<sup>2</sup> was modified to an only insignificant extent by W. F. Albright,<sup>3</sup> S. Smith,<sup>4</sup> A. Goetze,<sup>5</sup> J.-R. Kupper,<sup>6</sup> A. E. Draffkorn,<sup>7</sup> H. Klengel,<sup>8</sup> and H. Tadmor.<sup>9</sup>

Two royal names are known from the period of Alalah level VII: Iarimlim and Ammitakum. Recent chronological analyses which differ radically from earlier systems have demonstrated that these two names conceal four sovereigns of Alalah. N. Na'aman endeavoured to answer the question of how the six rulers of Halab only had two contemporaries at Alalah.<sup>10</sup> He resolved this problem by suggesting that two rulers called Iarimlim and two rulers called Ammitakum reigned in Alalah concurrently with the six kings at Iamḥad. His convincing arguments were, however, rejected by D. Collon, the publisher of the Alalahian seal impressions, in a recent study.<sup>11</sup>

The other basic difficulty in establishing the chronology of level VII is the problem of whether the dynasties of Iamḥad and Alalah were related. No general consensus has yet been reached on this issue: A. Goetze<sup>12</sup> and his followers e.g. W. Nagel and E. Strommenger<sup>13</sup> regard them as two different dynasties, whereas other, thus N. Na'aman<sup>14</sup> argues for consanguinity.

In the following we shall present the evidence from level VII relating to the rulers of these two cities.

### 1. *The kings of Iamḥad*

It is now generally accepted that six kings sat on the throne of Halab during the period of Alalah level VII, in the following order: Abba-il, Iarimlim II, Niqmepuh, Irkabtum, Hammurāpi II and Iarimlim III.<sup>15</sup> Of these kings we know the following:

**1.1** *Abba-il*: his seal impression reads:<sup>16</sup> *Ab-ba-AN / DUMU Ha-am-mu-ra-pi / LUGAL Ia-am-ḥa-dum / na-ra-an* <sup>d</sup>IM. Abba-il is thus the son of Hammurāpi I, the king of Iamḥad.<sup>17</sup>

Abba-il, the ruler of Iamḥad is mentioned in the following texts from level VII:

\*1 : this text is a postrevolt contract dealing with the events in Irridi; some of the 'brothers' rebelled against their *bēlum*, Abba-il, who destroyed their general headquarters, the town of Irridi; the king of Iamḥad/Ḥalap compensated Iarimlim for his destroyed town giving him Alalah instead of Irridi; according to lines 8–9: ... <sup>10</sup>*Ia-ri-im-li-im* / DU[MU LUGAL(?) *Ha-am-mu*]-*ra-pi* IR <sup>11</sup>*Ab-ba-AN*,<sup>18</sup> Iarimlim was the son of a certain Hammurāpi whose title is questionable, but he was the servant of Abba-il of Ḥalap; After the exchange of territories Iarimlim was installed in the Istar temple of his new town; the text is without date and witnesses.<sup>19</sup>

\*456 : this is the longer edition of the contract; from this one we know the name of Zitri-Addu, the *ḥazannum* of Irridi,<sup>20</sup> who rose against the leader of this area, Iarimlim; this Zitri-Addu, later on enlarging the upheaval, estranged the 'brothers' of the Eastern regions of the state from Abba-il; after the capture of the rebellious city, Irridi, Abba-il was given the following settlements to Iarimlim in exchange for Uwīā: Ammakki, Emār, Kaz(?)kuwa, Naštar, Parrē, Zabunap, Za[r-x]at, and [...]na; the town of Adrāte also was given to Iarimlim in exchange for for some *eperums* (the name of the city is broken out); the text also enumerated those cities which remained in the possession of Iarimlim, these are: Amama, Aušun, Halliwa, Murar, and Zikir; the text mentions, naturally, the exchange of Irridi and Alalah; the fragmentary end of the tablet contains the names of Aḥṣaduq, Irpa-A[ddu], and of Niqma-A[ddu] (two other names are broken out), it is possible that these persons were witnesses at the oath of Iarimlim; the text does not bear date formula.<sup>21</sup>

\*76 : Abba-il, the king (line 4) exchanged the town of Dimāt for the estates of four persons, Tagu, Ewar-naḡe, Muš-talma and Irpa-Addu in the town of Ituwa.<sup>22</sup>

\*77 : Abba-il, the king (line 9) exchanged the town of Tunid for the *eperum* of Samsunabala, the son of Maliki and his mother, the lady Abina in the town of Tadundi. There were five witnesses to the signing of the contract (the name of one is unfortunately broken out): Irpa-Addu, UGULA UKU.[UŠ] (line 12), Baliepa (line 13), Dīnī-Addu (line 15), and Irpa-Addu, UGULA DAM.GĀR<sup>meš</sup>, the overseer of the merchants (lines 16–17).<sup>23</sup>

\*56 : Irpa-Addu, probably the overseer of the merchants (lines 20, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35, 51) purchased several towns from Labbina for 3070 šiqłums of silver and other payment in kind. Apart from Irpa-Addu (line 51), there were several other witnesses of this sale document: Abba-il, the king (line 43), Iarimlim, the 'brother' of the king (line 44), Killi-guni, the *sukkallum* (line 45), Zimri-Šamaš, the scribe (line 46), Iapahsumuabi, the UGULA Hana (line 47), Ammuirba, the judge (line 48), Aianabilla, the UGULA <sup>giš</sup>ŠUKUR (line 49), and Wari-Addu (line 50).<sup>24</sup>

(We should like to point out that the name Abba-il also occurs in other texts from level VII. Thus in \*7: lines 2, 20, 28, 35, 36; the text dates to the reign of Niqmepuh, king of Ḥalap. In \*59: line 5, Abba-il is a woman's

name. A goldsmith, also by the name of Abba-il is mentioned in \*348: line 4. In \*8: line 12 Abba-il is the son of the lady Ikuwa, and in \*206: lines 8–9, the father of Aruriia.)

\*346: line 3 of this text mentions a prince, Abba-il who received a sheep. The table is not dated, and thus it cannot be ascertained whether we are dealing with the son of Hammurāpi I, the king of Iamḥad or another member of the royal family. If the first should turn out to be the case, than this would be the earliest tablet, preceding even tablets \*1 and \*456.<sup>25</sup>

**1.2.** *Iarimlim II's* seal impression reads: *Ia-ri-im-li-im* / DUMU *Ab-ba-AN* / LUGAL *Ia-am-ha-ad* / *na-ra-am* <sup>41</sup>[M].<sup>26</sup> The seal impression occurred together with two other sealings on fragments of sealed envelopes.<sup>27</sup> The name of [Z]*i-iq-[qa]-x* can be read beside one of the seal impressions;<sup>28</sup> D. Collon equates him with *Zi-iq-qa-ru-e*, whose son is mentioned in \*258: line 28.<sup>29</sup>

It is considerably difficult to select from the numerous tablets recording the name of Iarimlim<sup>30</sup> those texts which refer to Iarimlim II, king of Iamḥad and not to Iarimlim of Alalah, or to the later Iarimlim III, sovereign of Ḥalab.

This uncertain situation is reflected by the following two opinions. W. Nagel and E. Strommenger<sup>31</sup> have argued that "Von Yarim-lim II. besitzten wir ausser seinem Siegelabdruck nichts; seine Herrschaft war demnach nur ganz ephemere". On the other hand, D. Collon<sup>32</sup> suggested that "It seems, however, that few texts can be attributed with any certainty to the reign of Iarimlim II . . . Archaeological evidence points to his having a peaceful and fairly long reign."

**1.2.1.** Together with the texts (\*1, \*456, \*56) listed in the foregoing which refer to Iarimlim, the contemporary of Abba-il, who settled in Alalah, there are 41 other texts which mention the name Iarimlim. Of these, the following texts most certainly refer to *Iarimlim of Alalah*:

*Iarimlim* LÚ<sup>(uru)</sup> *Alalah*<sup>(ki)</sup>

\*10: 2–3, *Ia-ri-im-[li-im]* / LÚ *A-la-la-ah*;

\*11: 3–4, *Ia-ri-im-li-im* / LÚ<sup>uru</sup> *A-la-la-ah*<sup>(ki)</sup>, consequently the text deals with the lord of Alalah also in lines 8, 13, 16, 23, and 27; the tablet is dated with the year name of Niqmepa, sovereign of Iamḥad, lines 36–38: ITI *ḥu-di-zi* / MU *Ni-iq-mi-e-pa* LUGAL / *iš-tu Ni-[i]h<sup>1</sup>-in<sup>ki</sup> i-tu-ra*;

\*41: 8–9, <sup>m</sup>*Ia-ri-i[m-li-i]m* / LÚ *A-la-la-ah*;

\*52: 6–7, <sup>m</sup>*Ia-ri-im-li-im* / LÚ<sup>uru</sup> *A-la-la-ah*<sup>(ki)</sup>; this text was written during the reign of Niqmepuḥ, king of Ḥalab, lines 26–28: ITI *ki-ra-ri* / MU *Ni-iq-mi-e-pu-uh* LUGAL / MU *mu-la-ni* KLIMIN;

the Iarimlim appearing on tablets \*1, \*456 and \*56, the first ruler of Alalah, a contemporary of Abba-il, king of Iamḥad, and the Iarimlim mentioned in tablets \*11 and \*52 was the contemporary of Niqmepuḥ, ruler of Iamḥad. As we shall also deal with problems concerning the synchronization of the dynasties of Alalah and Ḥalab, suffice it here to



mention that Niqmepuḥ was the grandson of Abba-il. This fact offers two possible courses in the interpretation of texts mentioning Iarimlim: 1) Iarimlim, who moved to Alalah from Irridi, reigned over a fairly long period of time, since he was the contemporary of four kings of Ḥalab; 2) two kings, and not one, bearing the name Iarimlim reigned in Alalah.<sup>33</sup>

The Iarimlim mentioned in \*38: 8 must definitely be regarded as a king of Alalah. According to the text Arama, the son of Iḥikubi, lines 7–8: *qa-du-um ni-še<sub>20</sub>-šu* / *IR Ia-ri-im-li-[im]*, "together with his people / became the *wardum* of Iarimlim" in exchange for 1 *manû* 6 2/3 *šiglums* of silver.<sup>34</sup> The tablet is dated by the name of Irkabtum, the sovereign of Ḥalab, lines 20–22: *MU Ir-kab-tum* / *LUGAL.E* / *ITI e-ek-ki*.

In spite of the fact that \*44: recto line 6 lists a Niqmepa — who could well be the ruler of Ḥalab — as a witness, the date recorded in line 8 of the text, *ITI pa-ag-r[i]* / *MU Ia-ri-i[m-li-im LUGAL.E]*, refers to Iarimlim III, king of Ḥalab.<sup>35</sup> Even though the name Niqmepa/Niqmepuḥ was borne by various other rulers (the kings of Iamḥas during the period of level VII, the kings of Mukiš in the period of level IV), this person can probably be equated with the one mentioned in texts \*27: 12, \*205: 16, \*206: 15 (Niqmepa), and \*8: 11, 33, \*54: 17, \*268: 24, \*270: 14, \*281: 2, \*409: 14 (Niqmepuḥ).

The already mentioned *MU Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL(.E)* is definitely identical with Iarimlim (III) of Ḥalab in the following cases:

- \*6: 35–38, *ITI hi-ia-ri UD 17 KAM* / *MU Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL.E* / *da-WI-di-[e]* *LÚ Qa-[t]á-na<sup>ki</sup>* / *i-du-ku*;<sup>36</sup> lines 4 and 23 of the text thus also deal with Iarimlim of Ḥalab; in this text Ammitakum, *LÚ<sup>uru</sup> Alalah<sup>ki</sup>*, appoints his son, Hammurāpi as his successor;
- \*27: 7–8, *UD 6 KAM BAZAL* / *MU Ia-ri-im-li-(im) LUGAL.E*; Ammitakum, the king loaned Kam-muza 70 *šiglums* of silver as capital;
- \*37: 17, *MU Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL*, in the year of Iarimlim III, Abiṭaba, resident of the town of Kuzubīia, borrowed 25 and 10 *šiglums* of silver in the month *uṭiṭhi* (line 5) and in the month *pagru* (line 10);
- \*61: 25–27, [...] *MU Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL.E* / [...] *ITI hi-ia-ri-e* / [...] *UD 8 KAM BAZAL*, i.e. on the eight day of the month *hiari* Ammitakum, *LÚ A-la-la-aḥ* (lines 8–9) purchased a settlement at full price (the name of the settlement is broken out at the very beginning of the tablet); D. Collon<sup>37</sup> proposed that the text refers to the sons of *Ni-pa-a-du*; the mother of the sons, the lady Adira is also one of the sellers.

The Iarimlim mentioned in \*9: lines 10 and 16, a contemporary of Niqmepuḥ is also regarded as a ruler of Alalah, who sued against Nakusše for 100 sheep and 10 cattle.

I regard the Iarimlim mentioned in \*32: line 11 as being identical with Iarimlim II, the sovereign of Ḥalab. D. Collon<sup>38</sup> argued that "although no exact dating for AT 32 can be arrived at . . . , it would be seem that a date late in the reign of Iarimlim II of Iamḥad, or early in the reign of his successor Niqmepuḥ, while Iarimlim was still Governor of Alalah, is likely. The second alternative seems the most probable since the Iarimlim



mentioned in the text is given no title, and though confusion might have" arisen when both the king of Iamḥad and the Governor of Alalakh bore the same name, such confusion would no longer arise after the death of Iarimlim of Iamḥad, and the accession of Niqmepuḥ."<sup>39</sup> This opinion is seconded by N. Na'aman<sup>40</sup>, "the four documents AT 32, 38, 41 and 53, . . . are of the later phase of his reign (he speaks here about Iarimlim II, the third ruler of Alalah — E. G.) for we have dated all of them to the days of <sup>Y</sup>Irkabtum."

An important point which at first sight only complicates this controversial issue, but at the same time also helps to solve this problem, is a fragmentary line of the text which escaped the attention of both authors quoted in the above. Line 16 of the text definitely reads I[GI A]m-[mi-t]a-kum (autographical considerations imply that another two lines are also missing from the text). D. J. Wiseman<sup>40a</sup> did not include this Ammitakum occurrence in his index, as opposed to A. Draffkorn<sup>41</sup> who also lists this occurrence. It would appear that we are dealing with the lord of Alalah. In this case the Iarimlim, mentioned in line 11, is the king of Iamḥad, and since Irpa-Addu, the overseer of merchants — who was a contemporary of Abba-il and also lived under the reign of Irkabtum, sovereign of Halab (\*65: 12, the text is dated with the year name of Irkabtum in lines 13–15), but died already under the reign of this same ruler of Halab (\*57: 5–6, we shall return to the dating of this text later on) — is listed among the witnesses (line 14), thus Iarimlim of Halab can only be Iarimlim II.

The Iarimlim mentioned in \*53: line 4, without any title, can only be equated with Iarimlim, lord of Alalah, who appears as LÚ A-la-la-ah in \*41: lines 8–9. Ammar-Addu plays a prominent rôle in both these texts.

Text \*79 can also be assigned to the reign of Iarimlim II, king of Halab. Am-mi-ta-kum-ma / LÚ A-la-la-ah<sup>ki</sup> mentioned in lines 4–5 of the text is the contemporary of LUGAL Ia-ri-im-li-im who appears in line 12. The ruler of Iamḥad gave the town of Iašul in exchange for the town of Adraṭe.<sup>42</sup>

Tablet \*95, another fragmentary text was also written in the days of Iarimlim II, king of Iamḥad. The date proposed by N. Na'aman<sup>43</sup> who brought forward the dating put by H. Klengel<sup>44</sup> to the reign of Iarimlim III, was also accepted by D. Collon.<sup>45</sup> The text records a legal case. Iarimlim donated cities and *eperum* to his son Ammitakum, and after the death of Iarimlim, ruler of Alalah, somebody has sued against Ammitakum before Iarimlim, the king. The king of Iamḥad ruled in favour of Ammitakum, who became *bēl zillim*.<sup>46</sup>

It is evident from the closing formula of the text that the king Iarimlim was the Halabian one in whose present the legal case was investigated, because of the penalty clause which inflicts to pay 1000 *šiqḫums* of gold to Adad, the supreme god of Halab,<sup>47</sup> and the same amount of gold to the palace (lines recto 3–4).<sup>48</sup>

In the opinion of D. J. Wiseman<sup>49</sup> text \*126 is an agreement made by Iarimlim with his "brother", probably Abba-il. He based his opinion on the fact that the text, in which Iarimlim swore an oath by Adad and Ištar was written by the same scribe who wrote text \*1.<sup>50</sup> D. J. Wiseman concluded that the sacrifices listed in the text were probably offered to Ištar in her temple at Alalah by Iarimlim, the "brother" of Abba-il<sup>51</sup> after he moved to Alalah from Irridi. Thus, according to D. J. Wiseman, the text (lines 1, 8) deals with the first lord of Alalah.

In the opinion of S. Smith<sup>52</sup> the text is an ordinance for funerary rites. This funerary ordinance is merely a suggestion which cannot be definitely proved, but which would support the arguments for identifying Iarimlim, the "brother" of Abba-il with the Iarimlim who being the son of Abba-il (Iarimlim II) became the sovereign of Iamḥad.

According to H. Klengel<sup>53</sup> tablet \*126 records the amount of offerings with instructions for the rite to be performed on Iarimlim's behalf by the priest of Nakkušše in the temple of Ištar in Alalah and the contract between Iarimlim III, king of Iamḥad, and his "brother"; in this case the "brother" can only be Ammitakum, king of Alalah. His arguments were based on the fact that the title LUGAL can be read beside the name of Iarimlim in the first line of the text. There is, however, no evidence as to whether Iarimlim, who moved to Alalah from Irridi, ever bore the title of *šarrum*. Most texts only record the LÚ — *awēlum* title. Moreover, the priest called Nakkušše is known only from texts dated with the name of Ammitakum.

The following should be mentioned as regards the priest Nakkušše: D. J. Wiseman regards him as a priest, S. Smith identified him as a *nārum* or *šatammu* (?), and H. Klengel also considers him to be priest. Line 8 reads *na-ak-ku-uš-ša*, line 10 *na-ak-ku-ši*, and line 16 *na-ak-ku-uš-ši*, in all three cases preceded by two signs which D. J. Wiseman reads as LÚ.TUR<sup>54</sup>, A. Draffkorn<sup>55</sup> as <sup>16</sup>DUMU. She proposed that the text deals not with a man called Nakkušše but — in view of parallels from Nuzi and Boğazköy — with a "government servant, substitute (?)".<sup>56</sup> G. Giacomakis<sup>57</sup> accepted A. Draffkorn's interpretation, but listed two other texts (\*267: 12, \*268: 12 — these were regarded as personal names by A. Draffkorn) in which *nakkuššu* is nomen. W. von Soden<sup>58</sup> does not list these lines of text \*126, i. e. he regards them as personal names. N. Na'aman in a recent article<sup>59</sup> originates the term <sup>16</sup>DUMU *nakkušši* from the Hurrian verb *nakk-* means 'let go, dispatch', and translates the expression as "messenger" as the Hurrian translation of the Akkadian *mār šipri*.

To interpret the text it is also possible only with the collations of N. Na'aman. In his last article he gives the following transliteration and translation of the first 10 lines: (1) <sup>m</sup>*Ia-ri-im-li-im* GAL<sup>1</sup> / KI LÚ-*lim a-hi-im ni-iš* <sup>4</sup>IM / <sup>4</sup>uš <sup>4</sup>IŠTAR *i-pu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* / *wa-ar-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>-nu-um a-na* LÚ *hi-i<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-[t]i i-pu-uš* (5) *i-na-an-na uh-nu ša* LÚ-*lim i-n[a<sup>2</sup>-ad-di-nu<sup>2</sup>]* / <sup>m</sup>*Ia-ri-im-li-im i-kà-<sup>1</sup>al<sup>1</sup>-[m]a<sup>2</sup>* / *[i-n]a ŪRU-šu ū wa-ar-ki-it* / *[a-n]a Ia-ri-im-li-im i-il-la-ak* / *[um-m]a šu-ū-ma* <sup>16</sup>DUMU *na-ak-ku-uš-ša* (10) *[li<sup>2</sup>-i]m-šu-ur*; N. Na'aman's translation: "Yarimlim, the *rabū*, swore the oath of



IM and IŠTAR with the ruler, (his) brother, and afterwards he has committed sins against the ruler. Now, the taboo(?), which the ruler will deliver(?), Yarimlim shall e[a]t(?) in his city. And later he (the ruler) will go to Yarimlim and say thus: "[May(?)] the messenger ...".

According to N. Na'aman, there is no way to date the tablet since neither the king of Iamḥad nor the ruler of Alalah are mentioned by name. But I think so that there is a bare possibility to put the text into the chronological order. The only possibility is to use the titles mentioned in these lines, namely the title *rabû* and *awēlum-aḥum*. In my view, as I discussed earlier, the following system of titles was used to express the social status of the sovereigns of Ḥalab and Alalah when they were mentioned side by side:<sup>60</sup> If the title of the sovereign of Iamḥad/Ḥalab is *šarrum*, the ruler of Alalah is *awēlum*, if the Ḥalabian ruler is *šarrum rabûm*, the Alalahian one is *šarrum*, if the Ḥalabian ruler has the title *aḥum rabûm*, the Alalahian one bears the title *aḥum*, and finally, if the ruler of Iamḥad is mentioned as *bēlum*, the Alalahian one is *wardum*. In the Iamḥadian governing system the king of Iamḥad was the *primus inter pares*, i.e. among the "brothers". On the basis of this consideration, in the first line of \*126 Iarimlim is erroneously titled as GAL / *rabû*, because of his partner is titled as (*awēlum*) *aḥum*. In my opinion, in the first line before the GAL sign the ŠEŠ / *aḥum* sign is missing. Therefore, I suggest to regard this Iarimlim (ŠEŠ). GAL as the ruler of Iamḥad, namely, as Iarimlim II of Iamḥad. Iarimlim II was the son of Abba-il, his contemporary in Alalah (although the name of this city is not mentioned in the text, but the swearing the oath of Ištar and the *bīt dIštar* in line 39 make it possible that Iarimlim's partner was the sovereign of Alalah), may be, was that Iarimlim who moved to Alalah from Irridi. In my opinion, Iarimlim II violated his oath which was the same type as \*1 and [456, or as the descendant of Abba-il, he violated the Abba-il – Iarimlim (of Alalah) contract. It is probable that the first sovereign of Alalah, Iarimlim was contemporary of two Ḥalabian rulers.

In my opinion, the contemporary of Abba-il in Alalah, Iarimlim lived to see the accession of Abba-il's successor, Iarimlim II, who, similarly to his father, regulated the relations between Iamḥad and Alalah according to \*456. The nature of the offence committed by Iarimlim II remains unknown.

The Iarimlim mentioned in \*127: lines 11, 16 is the sovereign of Iamḥad. There is a general consensus<sup>61</sup> that the text is a list of those "gifts" with which Iarimlim of Alalah had to endow the temple of Ištar in Alalah, as set out in text \*126. But, as we discussed above, the text \*126 mentioned about the sin of Iarimlim II of Iamḥad, thus, consequently, the Iamḥadian king gave the silver objects to the Ištar temple of Alalah. In my opinion, the text \*127 was also written during the reign of Iarimlim II of Iamḥad and of Iarimlim of Alalah.

The Iarimlim appearing in the legend of a seal impression on text \*11 and on the envelope of text \*7 should also be equated with Iarimlim II. Text \*11 has already been discussed. We shall return to text \*7, for it

was written during the age of king Niqmepuh, and Iarimlim II of Iamḥad appears as the father of Niqmepuh.<sup>62</sup>

The name of Iarimlim occurs in the legend of two other seal impressions on the envelop of text \*7. Seal \*7 c belongs to Šamši-Addu. The legend of the seal is the following: *Sa-am-šu-<sup>d</sup>IM / UGULA DAM.GÀR / DUMU Ir-pa-a-[du] / ĪR Ia-ri-im-[li-im]*, i.e. "Šamši-Addu, overseer of merchant(s) son of Irpa-Addu, servant of Iarimlim". Since the text dates to the reign of Niqmepuh, the name Iarimlim perhaps refers to Niqmepuh's father, Iarimlim II, king of Iamḥad. The other more plausible possibility would be that we are dealing here with the sovereign of Alalaḥ. Šamši-Addu's father, Irpa-Addu moved to Alalaḥ from Irridi together with Iarimlim. Irpa-Addu's rank and office, who himself was an overseer of the merchants, was handed on to his son. The family, which we shall discuss at greater length in the following, was one of the most important ones in Alalaḥ, and was bound to the king of Alalaḥ by many strands. D. Collon<sup>63</sup> does not take a definite stand on this issue since in her view, the two Iarimlims were contemporaries, consequently this would not alter the dating.<sup>64</sup>

In view of above, I regard the Iarimlim mentioned in the inscription of the seal of Ini-Kubaba, seal \*7 f,<sup>65</sup> as the Iarimlim of Alalaḥ: *Ī-ni-ku-pa-[pa] / ĪR Ia-ri-im-li-im / na-ra-am <sup>d</sup>I[M]*. It should nevertheless be mentioned that D. Collon<sup>66</sup> suggested a referral to Iarimlim II, king of Iamḥad.

The litigant parties in \*455: line 23 *a-na ma-ḥar Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL i-ru-bu-ma*. D. J. Wiseman<sup>67</sup> who did not publish the autography of the signs visible in the five fragmentary lines at the end of the text, mentions that the date "year of Iarimlim" . . . can be clearly discerned in the fragmentary part. The text deals with the a legal case concerning the town Airraše. When the text was written, the settlement was in the possession of Šenen-šarri, subsequently it was owned by his wife, Abinaḥmi. Later on, however, the settlement slipped from the hands of this couple (Niqmepuh, \*63, \*96; Iarkabtum, \*33, \*64), wherefore the dating of the text to the reign of Iarimlim III of Iamḥad must be dismissed in favour of a dating to the time of Iarimlim II. N. Na'aman<sup>68</sup> also assigned the text to the reign of Iarimlim II. D. Collon<sup>69</sup> rejected this dating on the grounds that traces of the seal of Iarimlim III can be seen on the envelope of this tablet. The connection between the tablet and the envelope is nevertheless doubtful. The tablet was originally in the collection of the British Museum (the tablet does not have a BM number<sup>70</sup>) and was returned to the Antakya Museum, Turkey only after its publication. The text was not given an excavation number,<sup>71</sup> neither were the envelope and the envelope fragments (museum no.: Antakya 8880). D. J. Wiseman, who published the text, makes no mention of a fragment bearing the seal of Iarimlim III. It is now difficult to establish the exact find spot of the envelope fragment.<sup>72</sup> In view of the above, a dating to the reign of Iarimlim III does not appear plausible.

The evaluation of the other texts and passages mentioning various Iarimlims is somewhat less difficult. The Iarimlim mentioned in text



\*21: lines 18–20 was the *ḥazannum* of the town Irkili and a contemporary of Ḥammurāpi, king of Iamḥad. This Iarimlim further appears in \*22: lines 18–20. A certain Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL is mentioned several times, with a single exception (\*378: 2) in ration lists. Another Iarimlim bearing the title of GĪR (presumably instead of GĪR.NITÁ, i.e. *šakkanak-kum*,<sup>73</sup> and a Iarimlim designated as *sākinu* to be one and the same person (cf. Table 5).

In occurrence no. 41 of the name Iarimlim in text \*409: line 21, Iarimlim is the son of Aia.

We can thus conclude that Iarimlim II, king of Iamḥad is mentioned in the following texts: \*32: 11, \*79: 12, \*95: 7, 14, \*126: 1, 6, 8, \*455: 23. It is also certain that Iarimlim II was a contemporary of Iarimlim of Alalah (\*126), and Ammitakum of Alalah (\*32: 16, \*79: 4–5, 7, \*95: 1, 5, 15, 17).

**1.3.** The following ruler to sit on the throne of Iamḥad was *Niqmepuḥ*, the son of Iarimlim II. The inscription on his seal reads:<sup>75</sup> *Ni-iq-mi-e-p[u-uh]* / DUMU *Ia-ri-im-li-i[m]* / LUGAL *Ia-am-ḥa-a[d]* / *na-ra-am* <sup>d</sup>[IM]. This seal came to light on the envelope of tablets \*7 and \*11.

Text \*7, a legal document, was drawn up in the presence of king *Niqmepuḥ* (lines 13–14: ... *a-na ma-har Ni-iq-mi-e-pa* LUGAL / *i-ru-bu-ma*, lines 17–18: *ši-bu-us-sú ma-har Ni-iq-mi-e-pa* LUGAL / *iq-bi-ma*) and the tablet was dated with the year name of king *Niqmepuḥ*, lines 47–49: ITI *i-za-al-li* UD 13 KÁM / MU *Ni-iq-mi-e-pa* LUGAL.E / <sup>uu</sup>*A-ra-zi-ik<sup>ki</sup> iṣ-ba-tu*, 'on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the month Izalli, in the year (when) *Niqmepa* became king, (and) the city Arazik was captured<sup>76</sup>. Text \*7 is a legal case concerning the division of a house belonging to the wife of *Ammurāpi*, between *Abba-il* and his sister, the lady *Bittatti*.<sup>77</sup> Insofar as our interpretation is correct, the house in question which was finally divided between the litigant parties, was located in the town of *Suḥaru(wa)*. The history of the town, in terms of its owners, was quite eventful. Tablet \*80 records that *Ammitakum*, the lord of *Alalah* gave the town of *Pitika* in exchange for the town of *Suḥaru(wa)* to *Nakkuṣṣu*. Tablet \*86 mentions that *Ammitakum* gave the town to *Abba-il* together with 1000 *ṣigluṣ* of silver as his *zittum*, inheritance share. The settlement also appears in \*98a: line 5+x; unfortunately the tablet is broken and it would appear that *Šamši-Addu* (the overseer of the merchants?) came into contact with the town on behalf of the king of *Alalah*. It is nevertheless undisputable that the town which was formerly privately owned property became the unit of the royal household by the means of exchange (\*80). We are of the opinion that the *Abba-il* of text \*7 is identical with that of text \*86. It would appear that text \*86 preceded text \*7. The fact that *Ammitakum* accorded *Suḥaru(wa)* to *Abba-il* most probably strained the relations between *Abba-il* and *Bittatti*, whereupon *Bittatti* took the case before the king of *Iamḥad*. When *Niqmepuḥ* divided the inheritance he probably emended *Ammitakum*'s decision. The legal process recorded in text \*7 probably took place in *Halab*; *Ammitakum*

was represented by Murmeni (\*7: 45, IGI *Mu-ur-me-ni* ÌR *Am-mi-ta-kum*). Standing by the representative of Ammitakum, in the full sense of the word, was a witness by the name of Iarimlim (line 45), whom I take to be the son of Ammitakum and thus his mention together with Murmeni cannot be regarded as mere coincidence.

\*367: line 4 can perhaps be associated with the legal case concerning Suharu(wa). The text itself is an account of silver totalling more than 3000 šiqlum distributed by the king (line 20: ZIGA LUGAL). King Niqmepuh decreed a division of property, whereby Abba-il and Bittatti both inherited from the property of the parents. Since silver also constituted a part of the inheritance (tablet \*86 records that Ammitakum acknowledged the right of Abba-il to 1000 šiqlums of silver), Bittatti also had to receive her share of this amount. Text \*367: line 4 reveals that Bittatti received 718 šiqlums of silver, an amount similar to the one given to Abba-il.

(We should like to propose here that Ammitakum was perhaps related to Abba-il and Bittatti. Insofar as the *ummum*-mother mentioned in \*7: line 8 is identical with DAM<sup>at</sup> *Am-mu-ra-pi*, the wife of Ammurāpi of line 1, we may go even as far to suggest that this Ammurāpi can be equated with the Hammurāpi who installed Iarimlim in the temple of Ištar at Alalah [\*1: line 9]. This hypothetical train of thought would imply that Abba-il and Bittatti were the brother and sister or half-brother and half-sister of Iarimlim I of Alalah, and the paternal aunt and uncle of Ammitakum.)

The date formula of text \*8 can be restored on the basis of the year name in text \*7, lines 42–44: [ITI *hi-ia-ri*] UD 25 KĀM / [MU *Ni-ig-mi-e-pa*] LUGAL.E<sub>7</sub> / [<sup>uru</sup>*A-ra-zi-ik*] *iš-ba-tu*.<sup>78</sup> The contemporary of Iamḥad in Alalah was Ammitakum, LÚ Alalah (lines 5, 16, 26).

Text \*9 is a legal case brought before Niqmepuh, the king (line 6) in which Nakkušše wins the lawsuit against Iarimlim of Alalah; the loser of the lawsuit has to pay 100 sheep and 10 cattle.

On the basis of a remark made by D. J. Wiseman<sup>79</sup> that text \*98f is “part of a contract made between Nakkušše and Iarimlim the ‘man’ of Alalah concerning 100 wool-bearing sheep and 10 cattle . . . The subject matter is similar to \*9 and may relate to the same case”. N. Na’aman<sup>80</sup> suggested that it can perhaps be joined with text ÷10, saying ‘from Wiseman’s catalogue . . ., one receives the impression that these two documents are actually from one tablet’. But in spite of the fact that all three texts deal with a similar case (Nakkušše contra Iarimlim; 100 sheep and 10 cattle), D. Collon<sup>81</sup> was able to confirm with the help of Christopher Walker that text \*98f (unnumbered, in the Antakya Museum) and text ÷10 in the British Museum (BM 131451) are not parts of the same tablet.

Text \*10 does not mention Niqmepuh, and the index of personal names compiled by D. J. Wiseman does not include that he appeared in \*98f. It is nevertheless highly probable that the three tablets were made at roughly the same time.



Tablet \*11 is also dated with the name of Niqmepuh, lines 36–38: ITI *hu-di-zi* / MU *Ni-ig-mi-e-pa* LUGAL / *iš-tu Ni-[i]h<sup>1</sup> -in<sup>ki</sup> i-tu-ra*.<sup>82</sup>

Tablet \*52 was also drawn up during the reign of Niqmepuh, lines 26–28: ITI *gi-ra-ri* UD 5 KÁM / MU *Ni-ig-mi-e-pu-uh* LUGAL / MU *mu-ta-ni* KI.MIN.<sup>83</sup> The text records the sale of a town, Iburia, which was bought in its whole extent and with its exemption by Iarimlim, the ruler of Alalah from the lady Hepat-muhirni and her son, Abi-Addu.

The date formula in connection with a plague also appears in \*96: lines 31–33: MU *Ni-ig-m[i-e-p]u-uh* LUGAL.E / MU *mu-ta-[nu ina KUR? N]u-ḥa-aš-ši* / [*ittabši?*].<sup>84</sup> The text could refer to the division of the town of Airraše between Šamši-Addu and the lady Sumunnabi. After the penalty clause, among the witnesses we can find the son of Niqmepuh, Irkabtum, who became the following ruler of Halab (line 22: IGI *Ir-lab-tum* DUMU LUGAL).

The year name containing the capture of the town Arazik also occurs in \*55: 39 without mention of month and day. The purchase contract centres on Ammitakum, lord of Alalah (lines 16–17).

According to \*63: lines 19–22, Šamši-Addu (the overseer of the merchants), the son of Irpa-Addu bought a vineyard from the lady Urubalṭu, the wife of the smith Dūru, MU *Ni-ig-mi-e-qu-uh* LUGAL / ITI *hi-ia-ri* UD 26 KÁM / ALAM-*šu a-na É* <sup>d</sup>IM / *ú-še-lu-ú*, i.e. 'the year of the king Niqmepuh, on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of the month Ḫiari, when he dedicated his statue in the temple of Adad'.

Certain scholars have, in my opinion incorrectly, proposed that it is Niqmepuh, the king who is mentioned in \*270: line 14,<sup>85</sup> in spite of the fact that the title 'king' does not appear in this passage. The text is a ration list, lines 12–14 record that PA 1 *me-at 1 pa-ri-si* ZÍZ / *si-ki-il-te* <sup>16</sup>SAGI / TAR *Ni-ig-mi-e-pu-uh*, i.e. '101 *parisu* of *kunāšum* / as a gift for / the cup bearer, / (this is) the allowance of Niqmepuh'.<sup>86</sup>

As regards Niqmepuh, king of Halab, we shall restrict ourselves to the remark that he was a contemporary of Iarimlim and Ammitakum of Alalah.

**1.4.** Niqmepuh was succeeded by Irkabtum on the throne of Iamhad. His seal reads: [*Ir-k*]ab-tum / [DU]MU *Ni-ig-mi-e-pu-uh* / LUGAL *Ia-am-ḥa-[ad]* / *na-ra-am* [<sup>d</sup>IM?].<sup>87</sup>

Text \*33 recording a loan was dated with the name of Irkabtum. The lady Sumunnabi lent 135? *šiqlums* of silver to 12 men of Airraše, according to the weight of Halab. After listing the witnesses, the text goes on to say, in lines 27–30: [ITI] *mi-ša-ri* / [MU <sup>m</sup>] *Ir-kab-tum* LUGAL.E / [MU?US?.]SA <sup>112</sup>*Na-aš-tar-bi* / [*itti-šu*] *ik<sup>1</sup>-ki<sup>1</sup>-ru*, i.e. 'month of *mīšarum*, year of king Irkabtum; [the year after(?) the town of Naštarbi rebelled [against him]'.<sup>88</sup> D. J. Wiseman<sup>89</sup> considers the lady Sumunnabi giving the loan to be the sister of Ammitakum, ruler of Alalah.<sup>90</sup> N. Na'aman<sup>91</sup> on the basis of the text \*96: line tends to identify her as 'the daughter of the king'.

Several texts are dated with another year name of Irkabtum. Text \*38 records that Arama, the son of Iḫikubi and his men become the *wardum*, debtor's slave of Iarimlim for he failed to repay his debts. The date formula can be read in lines 20–22: MU *Ir-kab-tum* / LUGAL.E / ITI *e-ek-ki*, 'in the year (when) Irkabtum became king, (in) the month Ek-kena'.<sup>92</sup> Irkabtum was thus a contemporary of Iarimlim (of Alalah).

According to tablet \*54 Ammitakum, the *awēlum* of Alalah ITI *ḫi-ia-ri-e* / MU *Ir-kab-tum* LUGAL.E, in other words '(in) the month Ḫiari / (in) the year (when) Irkabtum became king', purchased the settlement of Agē from Irkabtum, the son of the *šangū*-priest Ammitakum. The year formula can be read in lines 33–34.

Text \*64, a sale contract of the lady Sumunnabi, who bought 3 *ikū* vineyard in the town of Airraše is dated with the year name MU *Ir-kab-tum* LUGAL.

Another tablet of the lady Sumunnabi, text \*65 records the purchase of a slave. The tablet was dated with the following formula in lines 13–15: MU *Ir-kab-tum* / ITI *at-ta-na-ti* / UD 18 (KÁM) BA.ZAL, 'year of Irkabtum, (in) the month Attanati, the 18<sup>th</sup> day has passed'.

Tablet \*58 is also dated with the name of Irkabtum. Talm-ammu purchased the town of Annaše from Iri-Addu and his son, Apria. The date is recorded in lines 28–30: MU *Ir-kab-tum* LUGAL / <sup>m</sup>Še-mu-ba ù ERÍN<sup>meš.ti</sup> KI GA RU.<sup>93</sup> It is nevertheless certain that the tablet was written during the reign of Irkabtum. It is more of a problem to determine who the lord of Alalah was at this time. Lines 15–22 of the text mention that the *awēlum* of Alalah has nothing to do with the settlement purchased by Talm-ammu, it cannot be annexed to the estates of the former, and that the *ilkum* payable to the city of Halab must be paid together with that of Lapana country (?). One of the witnesses is Sigil-giba, LÚ *A-la-la-aḫ* (line 27).<sup>94</sup> It remains to be settled whether Sigil-giba, the witness, the *awēlum* of Alalah can be equated with the *awēlum* of Alalah mentioned in lines 15–22. I would suggest that Sigil-giba should not necessarily be regarded as a sovereign of Alalah, but rather as a witness from the city.<sup>95</sup>

Irkabtum also appears as a prince in the Alalahian texts. He is listed among the witnesses in line 22, as I mentioned above. It is also known that Irkabtum, the DUMU LUGAL borrowed 2/3 *manū* of silver from Talm-ammu in the month Pagri of that year when Ammitakum was the king and he chose the daughter of the governor of Ebla for his son's bride (\*35: 7–12: ITI *pa-ag-ri* / MU *Am-mi-ta-kum* LUGAL.E / *i-nu-ma* DUMU.MÍ / LÚ<sup>uru</sup> *Ib-la-ki* / *a-na* DUMU.A.NI / *i-ḫi-ru*).<sup>96</sup> N. Na'aman<sup>97</sup> argues that the Irkabtum of the text \*35 is not identical with the Irkabtum, son of Niq-mepuḫ, mentioned in text \*96, but is the son of Ammitakum who borrowed money to cover the costs of his wedding. (Another Irkabtum whose father is called Ammitakum is also known from the Alalahian texts; the father, however, is not identical with the king of Alalah, this Ammitakum is a *šangū*-priest, cf. \*54: 4, \*55: 15. The witnesses of text \*65, discussed in the foregoing, which was dated with the year name of Irkabtum also include a certain Irkabtum. Text \*78: 21 and \*80: 8 also mention this



name. The sovereign of Tuba was also named Irkabtum [\*367: 13–14; \*11: 31]. In cases where titles are omitted it is exceedingly difficult even to speculate which one of them was the prince who eventually sat on the throne of Halab.) The Irkabtum of text \*35 is most probably to be identical with the son of Niqmepuh who came to Alalah to attend the wedding of the son of Ammitakum as a representative of his father, the sovereign of Halab, and who probably had to obtain a loan from Talm-ammu to meet the expenses of his stay in Alalah.

To summarize briefly the evidence concerning Irkabtum: while he was crown prince, Alalah was ruled by Ammitakum, as sovereign of Halab he was the contemporary of Ammitakum (\*54) and Iarimlim (\*38).

**1.5.** There is a general consensus that the next sovereign of Iamhad was *Iarimlim III*, the son of Niqmepuh, and brother of Irkabtum.<sup>98</sup> N. Na'aman<sup>99</sup> proposed that Iarimlim III succeeded Hammurāpi II.

In the foregoing we discussed the relevant data concerning Iarimlim III. It has been demonstrated that tablets \*6, \*27 and \*61 confirm that Iarimlim III and Ammitakum were contemporaries. Tablet \*37 and \*44 can also be assigned to his reign.

On the basis of a fragmentary seal impression D. Collon<sup>100</sup> has been able to establish that Iarimlim III was the son of Niqmepuh ([Ia]-ri-im-[li-im] / [DUMU?] Ni-i[q-mi-e-pu-uh] / LUGAL I[a-am-ḥa-ad] / na-ra-[am<sup>101</sup>IM?]), but her arguments that the envelope fragment bearing the seal impression can be associated with text \*455 are not wholly convincing.

**1.6.** The year name of *Hammurāpi II* has been preserved on three Alalahian tablets. Text \*21: lines 21–22 read: MU.KAM <sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-[pi] / LUGAL Ia-am-ḥa-d Ammitakum, the king loans 1½ manû 1 šiqlum of silver to Wandī-İšhara, the weaver.

The possibility that texts \*21 and \*22 were written on one and the same day cannot be excluded since not only the year names are identical, but the names of the witnesses as well (Arib-Šawuška, Išmega, Iarimlim, the ḥazannum of Irkilli). Ammitakum, the king, lent 30 šiqlums of silver to Nāzwe, the son of Taḡe; the date (lines 21–22): MU <sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-pi / LUGAL Ia-am-ḥa-ad.

According to \*39: 12–15, ITI hu-di-iz-zi / UD 6 KAM / MU <sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-pi / LUGAL.E, i.e. 'on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Hutizzi, in the year when Hammurāpi became king', Aria borrowed 4 šiqlums of silver from Aram-muzuni.

## 2. Problems of contemporaneity between the rulers of Alalah and Halab/Iamhad

It has been necessary to present the evidence outlined in the foregoing within the chronological framework of the succession of the sovereigns of Iamhad in order to offer a clear view of the dispute between N. Na'aman and D. Collon, and to enable us to take a stand in this matter.

N. Na'aman advocated a reappraisal of the chronology of Alalah on the grounds that there was a grave contradiction in the view adopted by most scholars, namely that the six rulers of Halab had but two contemporaries in Alalah. This would also imply that during the century covered by Alalah level VII, the beginning of which can be set around 1758 B.C. (the year when Hammurāpi, king of Babylon captured Māri; Hammurāpi I, ruler of Iamḥad, the father of Abba-il, Zimrilim's brother-in-law who is mentioned in Alalah texts, already sat on the throne of Iamḥad at this date), the destruction of which was brought about by the second Syrian campaign of Hattušili I,<sup>101</sup> only two kings, Iarimlim and Ammitakum sat on the throne of Alalah, i.e. that both rulers reigned over a period of more than fifty years if we accept the proposed life time of Alalah level VII.<sup>102</sup> To resolve this contradiction N. Na'aman adduced prosopographical evidence to prove that four kings reigned in Alalah during the period in question. N. Na'amans investigations were stimulated by Fr. Cornelius<sup>103</sup> who convincingly proved that there were two rulers by the name of Ammitakum in Alalah.

D. Collon<sup>104</sup> who published the seal impressions from Alalah<sup>105</sup> rejected N. Na'aman's reconstruction since 'the chronology which they (i.e. the seal impressions) enabled me to reconstruct is substantially that established by Rowton and Kupper'. Remarking upon this chronological system O. R. Gurney<sup>106</sup> recently stated that 'the very long generations of the first dynasty of Babylon and the dynasty of Alalah are quite abnormal'. Abnormal in the sense that they exceed considerably the usual length of reigns in Ancient Near East. D. Collon who is inclined to accept N. Na'aman's estimate of 125 years for level VII (Hammurāpi I, king of Iamḥad + Iarimlim + Ammitakum), for she herself proposed a reign of 70 years for the two rulers of Alalah,<sup>107</sup> nevertheless pointed out that there was a more than 200 years long period in the history of the 1<sup>st</sup> Babylonian Dynasty when the average reign totalled about 30 years, and goes on to mention that the last four kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, probably representing two dynasties, reigned over a period of ninety years.

M. B. Rowton<sup>108</sup> who first gave scientific estimates of the duration of reigns has shown that the Achaemenid dynasty can be attributed with the maximum of 222 years for 7 sovereigns, i.e. an average of 31.71 years per generation; the first seven kings of the 1<sup>st</sup> Babylonian Dynasty, from Sin-muballiṭ to Samsu-ditāna, with a total of 218 years between them, had average reigns of 31.14 year; from Aššur-rēš-iši II to Šulmānu-ašaridu III there elapsed a period of 148 years which can be considered as a minimum in the case of seven generations, with an average of 21.14 years ascribed to each reign. M. B. Rowton's estimates imply that six kings had an average reign of 185 years between them (with 26.42 years for one ruler) in the Ancient Near East. O. R. Gurney<sup>109</sup> compared these to the figures in the British royal family. The members of the seven generations between George I and George V (1660–1936) succeeded each other at intervals of 29–30 years.

The evidence presented by M. B. Rowton and O. R. Gurney compares

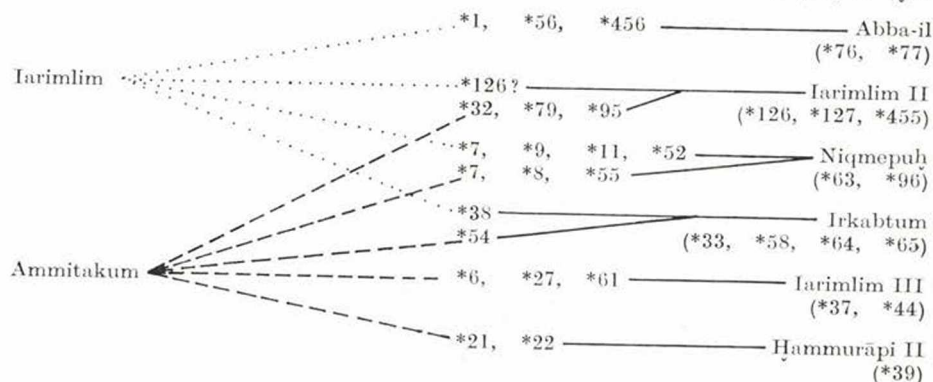


favourably with the dynasty of Halab (giving a figure roughly corresponding to Assyrian data, which can be regarded as a minimum). The same cannot be said of the dynasty of Alalah insofar as earlier schemes and more recent reconstructions of D. Collon are taken as starting points. The pioneer study of B. Lukács – L. Végső<sup>110</sup> on the Sumerian king list deserve a mention here. They worked out the actual figures for twenty five periods and various territories (Mesopotamia, Egypt, Rome and Hungary) and arrived at an average reign of  $22.46 \pm 4.16$  years. This average reign is close to the Neo-Assyrian average reign. Their estimates, based on the Sumerian king list and the reigning years of the first six dynasties of Egypt, showed that the frequency of reigns corresponds to a Gauss-curve and gives a first peak of sons around year 16, and a second one for grandsons around year 36. Consequently, generations follow each other at roughly 20 years.<sup>111</sup>

The analyses of B. Lukács – L. Végső have confirmed the doubts of those scholars who considered two rulers for the period covered by level VII as somewhat absurd.

Reckoning with two rulers in Alalah, Iarimlim and Ammitakum, have thus proved the fallacy of chronological reconstructions older than that proposed by N. Na'aman; the evidence outlined in the foregoing has been tabulated in Table 1.

Table 1

*kings of Alalah**kings of Iamḥad*

(Note: text numbers in parentheses refer to texts where only Halabian kings are mentioned)

Insofar as only two kings of Alalah had ruled concurrently with six sovereigns in Iamḥad, we would not have been able to establish synchronisms which cross each other (Iarimlim II – Ammitakum, Irkabtum – Iarimlim). The succession of the rulers of Alalah as set out by N. Na'aman (Iarimlim I – Ammitakum I – Iarimlim II – Ammitakum II) clearly solves

earlier contradictions and, at the same time, gives more relative average reigns (about 25 years) for individual rulers. (The fact, that the four rulers of Alalah were contemporaries of six rulers of Iamḥad can perhaps be ascribed to the plague mentioned in some quoted year names.)

On the basis of Table 1, the following synchronisms can be established with the help of four Alalahian rulers:

- a) *Iarimlim I* of Alalah was a contemporary of Abba-il (\*1, \*56, \*456) and of *Iarimlim II* of Iamḥad (\*126?);
- b) *Ammitakum I* was a contemporary of *Iarimlim II* of Iamḥad (\*32, \*79, \*95) and of *Niqmepuḥ* (\*7, \*8, \*55);
- c) *Iarimlim II* of Alalah was contemporary of *Niqmepuḥ* (\*7 — the text was written during the reign of *Ammitakum I*, wherefore could only be crown prince; \*9, \*11, \*52) and *Irkabtum* (\*38);
- d) *Ammitakum II* of Alalah was a contemporary of *Irkabtum* (\*54), *Iarimlim III* of Iamḥad (\*6, \*27, \*61) and *Hammurāpi II* (\*21, \*22).

So far, only those tablets have been discussed which yielded information concerning the kings of Iamḥad and the rulers of Alalah mentioned alongside them. In the following we shall attempt the classification of those texts which mention rulers of Alalah without synchronisations, beginning with the *Iarimlims* of Alalah (these text have already been discussed) and then giving an analysis of those mentioning the *Ammitakums*.

### 3. The chronology of the texts mentioning only rulers of Alalah

Four of the texts listed earlier mentioned the name of *Iarimlim*, have not yet been specifically assigned to either the reign of *Iarimlim I* or *II* (\*10, \*41, \*53, \*98f). Similarly, the question of the exact date of those texts in which *Iarimlim* is designated as a prince (*DUMU LUGAL*) has also been left open.

**3.1.** The subject matter of tablet \*10 is closely allied to that of tablet \*9, which is securely dated. *Nakkušše* contended the price of 100 sheep and 10 cattle with *Iarimlim II*, king of Alalah and a contemporary of *Niqmepuḥ*. Even though tablet \*98f cannot be joined with \*10, the two are nevertheless closely related for they both deal with the same legal case, and can thus be grouped under the 'heading' *Nakkušše contra Iarimlim II*.

**3.2.** Tablets \*41, \*53, \*78 and \*368 are also related. Tablet \*41 is a *mazzazānūtu* document.<sup>112</sup> *Ammar-Addu* borrowed 5 + x *šiglums* of silver from *Irpa-Addu*. *Iarimlim*, lord of Alalah, paid *Ammar-Addu*'s debt to *Irpa-Addu*, and thus became the new creditor of *Ammar-Addu*. *Ammar-Addu* gave the settlement of *Kunuwa* as security. The former creditor, *Irpa-Addu*, the overseer of the merchants (to whose family tree we shall return later) was already active in the days of Abba-il (\*56: 20, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35; \*76: 8; \*77: 16) and also lived to see the reign of *Irkabtum* (\*65: 12). I would propose a date in the reign of *Irkabtum* for the tablet mentioning the death of *Irpa-Addu* (\*57: 5–6). This longeval gentleman was thus



the contemporary of three successive kings of Alalah. In my view, the Iarimlim of text \*41 can thus be equated with Iarimlim II.

It would appear that Ammar-Addu could not repay his debt and thus had no choice but to sell the town of Kunuwa to Iarimlim. Thus, in spite of the fact that the title of Iarimlim is omitted in \*53: line 4, he must nevertheless be identified with Iarimlim II of Alalah, the person who assumed Ammar-Addu's debt from Irpa-Addu. Iarimlim II bought the settlement for 770 *šiqlums* of silver, 500 *parisu* of *kunāšum* and 10 *parisu* of *kiššanum*. Text \*368 also records that 100 *šiqlums* of silver from the purchase price of Kunuwa (lines 1–4: 1 *me-at* KÚ.BABBAR / *i-na* *ši-ma-at* / <sup>uru</sup>*Ku-nu-wa* / *at-rum*) was retained by the palace in exchange for the release of the *šarrāku*-men of Ammar-Addu. The text which only mentions the name of Ammar-Addu can be assigned to the reign of Iarimlim II of Alalah.

Consequently, text \*78 which records the exchange of the town Kunuwa for the town Warrē was probably written in the days of Ammitakum II (line 8). Kunuwa thus passed into the hands of Šinurabi, the son of Irpa-Addu, Ammar-Addu's former creditor.

N. Na'aman<sup>113</sup> ascribed tablet \*78 to the reign of Ammitakum I on the basis of text \*55 which is securely dated (Ammitakum I – Niqmepuh). We reject this dating on the grounds that the changes in the ownership of Kunuwa, furthermore the presence of a witness in \*53: recto line 8, Sunna (who was a 'standard' witness in the days of Ammitakum II<sup>114</sup>) date the transactions concerning Kunuwa to the reign of Iarimlim II and Ammitakum II since the text \*53 (Iarimlim II) had to precede text \*78 (Ammitakum II).

**3.3.** A witness of text \*78, Dāda, the son of Kuppurum (line 16) has been treated with utmost importance by D. Collon<sup>115</sup> for the member of his family are also known. The first member of the family, Kuppurum was inactive by the period of level VII. His son, Dāda appears not only in text \*78, but also in \*29: lines 5–6. Prior to the writing of the text Dāda, the son of Kuppurum loaned three persons, Aštābi-šarra(?), Irza-wandi and Kurri 30 *šiqlums* of silver. Ammitakum, king of Alalah (line 4) redeemed the debt of these men, who thus became the debtors of the king. N. Na'aman<sup>116</sup> presented prosopographical evidence proving that text \*29 was drawn up during the reign of Ammitakum I. This is also confirmed by the fact that Dāda's son, Ešbi-edatta was already a grown men in the days of Iarimlim II, sovereign of Halab, since he is listed as a witness in \*455: line 31.

The next representative of the family, according to D. Collon, is a certain Niqmepuh, son of Ešbi-<sup>d</sup>IM, but these two names, Ešbi-edatta and Ešbi-<sup>d</sup>IM are not identical.<sup>117</sup>

**3.4.** But who was this Niqmepuh, son of Ešbi-<sup>d</sup>IM whose seal impression is also known (18A).<sup>118</sup> Niqmepuh is mentioned on the tablet \*8: lines 11 and 33; the text is dated with the year name of Niqmepuh, king of Iamhad. Envelop 18A which bears the the seal of Niqmepuh/Niqmepa would also

be assigned to the reign of Niqmepuh, king of Ḥalab. The tablet lists three witnesses, (E)wari-giba, Talm-ammu and Immeri. Wari-giba appears five times in well-dated texts; two of these can be assigned to Niqmepuh's reign (\*52, \*96), one to the suzerainty of Irkabtum (\*58) and two to the day of Iarimlim III (\*27, \*61). Of the texts mentioning Talm-ammu and rulers of Ḥalab, two tablets (\*38, \*58) fall within the reign of Irkabtum. Immeri, the third witness, appears in \*35: line 14 as a witness to a transaction of Talm-ammu dated to the days of Ammitakum I, when Irkabtum was prince (the appearance of Talm-ammu can thus be brought forward to the end of Niqmepuh's reign). Consequently, all three witnesses were already active during the reign of Niqmepuh, and tablet \*18 could well have been written at this time. On the envelope 18A<sup>119</sup> there are six names of witnesses (Wari-giba, the priest of Ištar, Talm-ammu, Immeri and Herze, Ariṣ-lubar) and at least five seals (Egli-Addu, Wari-giba, Niqmepa, Ariṣ-nubar and perhaps the priest of Ištar). The names on the envelope are parallel to the names of witnesses on documents \*27 and \*61. These two tablets are dated with the year name of Iarimlim III of Iamḥad.<sup>120</sup>

D. Collon<sup>121</sup>, however, assigned the tablet \*18 to the reign of Iarimlim III of Ḥalab, too, on the grounds that the envelope of the tablet bears the 'partially preserved date formula' of Iarimlim III (the photograph of the envelope is very dark and nothing can be seen on it). In my opinion the year name can only be that of Iarimlim II, which can best be proved by the prosopographical evidence. The tablet \*18 records that Ammitakum, the king loaned Ammi-Addu, a fowler 1/3 *manû* and 1 *šiqlum* of silver. The two sons of Ammi-Addu, Aia-šarri and Pendi-Addu entered the house of Ammitakum as securities where they pursue their activities as fowlers of the king.<sup>122</sup> It cannot thus be regarded as mere coincidence that one of the two brothers, Aia-šarri appears in the ration lists. In two cases, \*243: 22, \*274: 4, he received his birds' and his own rations respectively. Both tablets list persons who were contemporaries of prince Iarimlim, the son of Ammitakum I (later on I shall discuss all the passages mentioning Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL). Thus tablet \*18 must have been drawn up prior to the two ration lists, which, in turn, implies that the fragmentary year name on the envelope of the tablet must be that of Iarimlim II of Iamḥad.

Niqmepa was undoubtedly a contemporary of Iarimlim III, but if the envelop 18A belongs to tablet \*18, which bears his seal, he was beginning his career as early as the reign of Iarimlim II of Iamḥad. Naturally, it is very difficult to prove the identity of the all Alalahian Niqmepas.<sup>122</sup>

**3.5.** The witness of a contract between Dada and Ammitakum I, recorded in text \*29, was Dini-Addu, whose occurrences should definitely be considered, since one of the rulers of Alalah died while he was still active. His activity was neglected by both N. Na'aman and D. Collon. In \*55: line 30, a securely dated text (Niqmepuh of Iamḥad), Dini-Addu witnessed as *sukkallum* for Ammitakum I. Under the reign of Irkabtum, Niqmepuh's



successor, he is listed as a witness in tablet \*65: line 8. His earliest well-dated occurrence is \*77: line 15 from the time of Abba-il, sovereign of Halab. His activity thus ranged from the close of Abba-il's reign, well into the time of Irkabtum.

Text \*59 records that the lady Sumunnabi purchased Dini-Addu's house in Alalah from the lady Abba-il (wife of Dini-Addu?). The house lay beside that of Wari-tte,<sup>123</sup> whose son, Hassu was a royal official holding the title of *waklum* (\*382: 5). In view of Sumunnabi's activity the Ammitakum of text \*59 can only be equated with the contemporary of Irkabtum, Ammitakum II.<sup>124</sup> As a high-ranking official (*šakkanakkum*), Dini-Addu received cloths and oil, as recorded in text \*357: 4. As royal official he administered the affairs of the settlement Ašuni, and, together with two colleagues, received the rations of the settlement (\*271: line 15). One of his sons, Išma-Addu was a witness to a purchase by Ammitakum II (\*54: 26). His other son, Atri-Addu is listed as a witness in \*57: line 45, a text recording the problems which arose after the death of Irpa-Addu, the overseer of merchants. We assign tablet \*57 to the reign of Irkabtum — Iarimlim II, king of Alalah by reason that Wari-muza is mentioned in this tablet (\*57: line 44, *ša l.GIŠ iq-qu-ú*; other documents: \*55: line 37 as SAGI, dated with the year name of Niqmepuh; \*6: line 28 as ŠÁ.TAM, dated in the year of Iarimlim III; \*39: line 11, during the reign of Hammurapi II; \*62: line 4; \*258: lines 17 and 29 as <sup>14</sup>UŠ.BAR; his seal can be seen on tablet \*39<sup>125</sup>) and that Irpa-Addu made his last public appearance under the reign of Irkabtum (\*65: line 12). Išma-Addu and Atri-Addu also mention their father's name in the two texts quoted above. The names of sons, however, also appear in other texts, but without the patronymic. *Išma-Addu*: \*33: 8 (debtor, LÚ *A-i-ir-ra-še*<sup>ki</sup>); \*96: 25 (witness); \*98b: 3 (witness)<sup>126</sup>; \*238: 34; \*264: 17 (<sup>14</sup>NAR), 32 (GÍR, <sup>14</sup>NAGAR); \*268: 19 (<sup>14</sup>MU); \*274: 5 (<sup>14</sup>MU); \*281: 12.

The Išma-Addus who are listed as witnesses in these texts can most probably be regarded as one and the same person. Tablet \*54, in which the name of the father is also recorded, can be ascribed to the reign of Irkabtum; text \*96 in which his brother, Atri-Addu is perhaps also mentioned (r. line 7) was drawn up during the second half of the reign of Niqmepuh, Irkabtum's father, since prince Irkabtum is listed as a witness.

In spite of the fact that \*98b is an undated fragment, the witnesses listed with Išma-Addu can be taken as starting points in the dating of the tablet.<sup>127</sup> The most important witness is Nakkuše, since he is Dini-Addu's brother. It has been shown earlier that Nakkuše was a contemporary of Iarimlim II, king of Alalah, moreover one of his adversaries in a legal case. He was a *bārûm*-priest (\*54: 31, IGI *Na-ak-ku-uš-še* MĀS.ŠU.G[ÍD. GÍD]),<sup>128</sup> the text was written during the reign of Irkabtum). His father was probably called Kaš-šena (\*64: 16, IGI *Na-ak-ku-uš-še* DUMU *Kaš-še-na*, the text was recorded in the time of Irkabtum). In the texts he is mentioned not only with Išma-Addu (\*54: 26), i.e. with his cousin, but with Išma-Addu's father, Dini-Addu, with his brother (\*55: 30–31, IGI *Di-ni-a-du* <sup>10</sup>SUKKAL / IGI *Na-ak-ku-uš-še* ŠEŠ.NI). Apart from

these tablets, Nakkusē is also mentioned in the following texts: \*30: 10 (witness; reign of Ammitakum I); \*80: 6 (Nakkusē exchanged with Ammitakum II the settlement of Suharuwa for the settlement of Pitikla); \*267: 12 ([<sup>10</sup>KIN.GI.]A); \*268: 12 (<sup>10</sup>KIN.GI.<sub>4</sub>.A); \*369: 3 (Egli-Išhara,<sup>129</sup> the treasurer [?] expended a total of 250 *šiqḫums* of silver; 190 *šiqḫums*, 'the silver of Ištar' was given to Nakkusē [i.e. he was the *bārūm*-priest of the Ištar temple of Alalah], and 2 silver vessels weighing 60 *šiqḫums* to the palace, when the *awēlum* of the town Bitin visited Alalah<sup>130</sup>). The mention of Išma-Addu's uncle, Nakkusē implies that tablet \*98b was written during the reign of Ammitakum I – Iarimlim II / Niqmepuh.

It is also chronologically plausible that the witness Išma-Addu is identical with the person bearing a similar name from Airašše who borrowed silver from the lady Sumunnabi in the days of Irkabtum (\*33).

(The carpenter and the cook, also by the name of Išma-Addu, who are mentioned in the ration lists shall be discussed at greater length later on.)

We should like to mention the possibility that the seal of Išma-Addu, Dini-Addu's son, is also known.<sup>131</sup> This seal appears together with seal No. 12 which belonged to a certain *Am-mu-sa-ma* on a fragment.<sup>132</sup> D. Collon accepted the suggestion made by D. Kennedy that this name is identical with another name of level VII which was hitherto read as *Am-mu-ir-ba*.<sup>133</sup> D. Collon<sup>134</sup> also ascribed another seal to Ammuirba/Ammusama. He is first documented as a judge in \*56: line 48, dated to the reign of Abba-il. During the reign of Niqmepuh (\*11: 18, 31) he is designated as LÚ *Tu-ba*<sup>ki</sup>, the lord of Tuba. In \*25: line 11 Ammuirba/Ammusama is listed as a witness to a *mazzazānūtu*-contract which can perhaps be assigned to the reign of Ammitakum II. D. Collon regards him as the king of Tuba who started his career as a judge in the days of Abba-il and became the lord of this city under the reign of Niqmepuh. (Two other sovereigns of Tuba are known by name: \*367: lines 13–14, *Ir-kab-tum* / LUGAL <sup>uru</sup>*Tu-ba* [the text can be dated to the age of Niqmepuh since the lady Bittatti is mentioned in line 4]; Sumirapa's seal, lines 3–5: *Sú[-m]i-ra-ap* / *már I[a-r]i-im-li-im* / *šár* <sup>ál</sup>*tu-ba*<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>135</sup>) There is no serious chronological obstacle to equating the owner of the seal, Išma-Addu, the contemporary of Ammuirba/Ammusama with the son of Dini-Addu.

*Atri-Addu*, another son of Dini-Addu, or persons bearing an identical name are also known from texts apart from \*57: line 45. We know, however, that Egli-Addu also had a son called Atri-Addu (\*36: line 5). Since this latter Atri-Addu was the debtor of Talm-ammu, it is more probable that the Atri-Addu who had a seal and ranked as *sukkallum* should be regarded as the son of Dini-Addu, if there are no chronological drawbacks. These texts are the following: \*7: seal,<sup>136</sup> the tablet was written in the reign of Niqmepuh; \*11: lines 11 and 32 (SUKKAL<sup>1</sup>), this text is also assigned to the reign of Niqmepuh; \*52: line 22 (SUKKAL), during the days of Niqmepuh; \*96: line 23 (SUKKAL<sup>1</sup> GAL), during the reign of Niqmepuh, together with his brother, Išma-Addu (line 25); \*370: lines 2–3 (<sup>10</sup>*ki-zu*<sup>hā</sup>), he is here mentioned together with Muzumeni who also appears in \*29: line 16, one of the witnesses is Dini-Addu, wherefore tablet \*370 can also



be assigned to the reign of Ammitakum I; \*455: line 51 (witness), it is possible that similarly to his brother he also lived in Airraše, for he was witness to a legal dispute over Airraše. The above texts imply there are no chronological obstacles to regarding these Atri-Addus as one and the same person, the leading official of the sovereign who received from the palace his rations (these texts will be discussed in the section dealing with prince Iarimlim).

Dinī-Addu, the father Išma-Addu and Atri-Addu, also appears in \*366: line 9 which records the issue of funerary goods (lines 5–6: 1 GAL KÙ.BABBAR *ba-ba-aš-šar-ri-e* / *a-di* LUGAL *im-du-ud a-na qū-bu-ri*; line 13–16: 27 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR / *i-ir-tù ša* LUGAL / *it-ti* LUGAL *a-na qū-bu-ri* / *id-di-nu*). Insofar as we have dated the activity of Dinī-Addu correctly, these funerary goods which were deposited in the grave of Ammitakum I, were issued by Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah. The texts mentioning Dinī-Addu and his sons are arranged chronologically in Table 2.

Table 2

<i>Alalah</i>	<i>Iamḫad</i>	Kuš-šena	Naḫkūsse	Dinī-Addu (tAbba-il)	Išma-Addu	Atri-Addu
Iarimlim I	Abba-il			*77: 15		
	Iarimlim II		*30: 10 *369: 3	*29: 14 *271: 15		*455: 51 *370: 2
Ammitakum I	Niqmepuh					*7: p *11: 32 *52: 22 *96: 23 *247: 22 (*258: 6)
			*55: 31	*55: 30	*96: 25	*241: 18 *251: 17 *263: 9 (*238: 14)
Iarimlim II			*9: 18 *10: 1 *98b: 13 *98f: ?	*366: 9 *357: 4		
	Irkabtum		*64: 16  *54: 31 *80: 6	*65: 8  *59: 2	*33: 8  *54: 26	*57: 45
Ammitakum II	Iarimlim III					
	Ḥammurāpi II					

**3.6.** Several witnesses appearing on tablet \*78 are also listed on tablet \*80 (Tuppilimma, \*78: 25; \*80: 9; Uri-Addu, \*78: 27; \*80: 15 [who can perhaps be equated with Wuri-Addu, \*7: 25; \*56: 50]<sup>137</sup>; the name also appears in text \*10;<sup>138</sup> Niqma-Addu, \*78: 22; \*80: 14, in both cases he is <sup>10</sup>SANGA; \*455: 48, without title; Aiali, \*78: 22; \*80: 10, <sup>10</sup>bārūm; text \*80 was thus ascribed to the reign of Ammitakum I by N. Na'aman<sup>139</sup>). D. Collon<sup>140</sup> has pointed out that Niqma-Addu (*Ni-iq-mi-a-du* in texts \*78 and \*80, *Ni-iq-mi-a-du* in \*455) should be regarded as being especially important for his successors are also known.<sup>141</sup>

The first appearance of Niqma-Addu as a witness (his father's name is broken out) is documented in text \*456: line 70, dated to the reign of Abba-il. He is a witness to a legal case involving the settlement Airraše (\*455: 48), which we assigned to the days of Iarimlim II, king of Ḫalab. It would appear that he was an inhabitant of the settlement, a possibility also supported by the fact that he is listed among those men who borrowed 135 (?) *šiqlums* of silver, according to the weight of Ḫalab, from the lady Sumunnabi. The 13 men stood as sureties for each other. The text is securely dated with the year name of Irkabtum. The possibility that Niqma-Addu of Airraše is perhaps identical with the *šangû*-priest mentioned in \*78: 22 and \*80: 14 (we know that e.g. Irkabtum [\*54: 4] and Sumi-Addu [\*55: 15] the sons of a *šangû*-priest, Ammitakum became impoverished and had to sell their land) cannot be entirely rejected. D. Collon<sup>142</sup> suggested that this same Niqma-Addu appears in \*274: line 17. The autography and the transliteration of the text<sup>143</sup> reads *Ni-iq-ma-a-bi* (it should be mentioned that this name is not listed in the index of the personal names compiled by D. J. Wiseman).

We know from the abstract of text \*98d that Šamši-Addu purchased something from Ammi-Addu of Airraše, son of Niqma-Addu.<sup>144</sup> In text \*98d: lines 8 and 16 the name appears as Ammu-Adda.<sup>145</sup> The index lists the name of Ammi-Addu's father in line 5.<sup>146</sup> Only the name of one of the witnesses is legible, that of Egli-Addu (not listed in Wiseman's index), who is probably Ammi-Addu's brother since his seal bears the following legend: *[E]h-li-<sup>d</sup>x[ ] / [DU]MU Ni-iq-mi-a-[ ] / [Ī]R ša <sup>d</sup>[x]*.<sup>147</sup> D. Collon attributes this seal to Egli-Addu, the son of Niqma-Addu. This seal also appears on envelop 18A, beside the *sissiktu* of Ammi-Addu's garment;<sup>148</sup> the *mazzazānūtu*-contract dated to the reign of Ammitakum I and Iarimkun II, king of Ḫalab.<sup>149</sup> Ammi-Addu, a fowler, borrowed 1/3 *manū* 1 *šiqlum* of silver from Ammitakum I, ruler of Alalah. In exchange for the silver the sons of Ammi-Addu, Aia-šarri and Pendi-Addu went to dwell in the house of Ammitakum and continued their activity as fowlers in the service of the king. The possibility that during the reign of Irkabtum Ammi-Addu was a *guzalūm* ('Stuhl-, Thronträger')<sup>150</sup> standing in the service of the king cannot be entirely dismissed. One of the witnesses listed in text \*38: line 17, ascribed to the reign of Irkabtum – Iarimlim II, king of Alalah is IGI *Am-ma-ad-da* <sup>10</sup>GU.ZA.LÁ. This same *guzalūm* also witnessed text \*30: line 14 (IGI *Am-mu-a-da* <sup>10</sup>GU.ZA.LÁ<sup>1</sup>). The identification of the fowler with the throne-bearer is also supported by the fact



that Šamši-Addu, the overseer of the merchants, came into contact with the family several times while active as scribe. He is the scribe in texts \*30: line 15, in \*98d he purchases something from Ammi-Addu, and he is the scribe in text \*80 which lists Niqma-Addu as a witness. Egli-Addu also appears as a witness in tablet \*60 (r. line 12) which records the purchase of a house in Ibla by Šamši-Addu, the son of Irpa-Addu, on behalf of the king. Šamši-Addu also bought a vineyard in the district of Airraše, in the city of Niqma-Addu and his family, and one of the witnesses was again the *sukkallum* Egli-Addu, the son of Niqma-Addu (\*63: 17). This latter text was drawn up during the reign of Niqmepuh, king of Ḫalab.

If we now turn back to the dating of text \*30, we may assume that the <sup>m</sup>*Am-mi-ta-kum-ma* / LUGAL <sup>nu</sup>*A-la-la-ah*<sup>ki</sup> mentioned in lines 5–6 is Ammitakum I, since apart from the aforementioned Šamši-Addu and Ammi-Addu, Nakkusē (line 10), Daria, the *bārām*-priest (line 1) Egli Išhara (line 13) and Uštanni (line 12) who were active during the reign of Ammitakum I<sup>51</sup> and under Niqmepuh, king of Ḫalab (\*55).

As regards the two sons of Ammi-Addu, they also appear in other texts beside \*18. After Aia-šarri 'went to dwell in the house' of Ammitakum I, he received his provisions for his activity as a fowler on ration lists. Text \*274: line 4 reads: 20 *(pa-ri-si ŠE.BA)* *A-ia*-LUGAL <sup>lu</sup>MUŠEN. DÚ. In another case, \*243: line 22, Aia-šarri (*A-ia*-LUGAL<sup>li</sup>) designated here as GĪR received 1 *parīsu* of *kunāšum* for his birds (ŠÀ.GAL MUŠEN).

Apart from \*18: line 4 discussed in the foregoing, Ammi-Addu's other son, Pendi-Addu also appears in another text. Tablet \*63, a contract of sale dated to the days of Niqmepuh, lists him among the witnesses (line 16). We have already mentioned that Šamši-Addu purchased a vineyard in the district of Airraše. Not only Pendi-Addu, but perhaps his uncle, Egli-Addu, also appears as a witness (line 17).

Egli-Addu, Ammi-Addu's brother is also documented in the following texts (we shall discuss the identity of the Egli-Addus later on; the texts quoted in the foregoing are the following: his seal on 18A; \*98d: ?, witness; \*60: 12, witness; \*63: 17, *sukkallum*, witness); \*20: 14, witness; \*36: 4, debtor; \*205: 27, LÚ <sup>giš</sup>GIGIR; \*238: 38, <sup>lu</sup>*nārum*; \*249: 2, 12, <sup>lu</sup>*nārum*; \*265: 6, UGULA <sup>lu</sup>·mešUŠ.BAR; \*268: 21, UGULA <sup>lu</sup>·mešUŠ.BAR; \*274: 16, <sup>lu</sup>UŠ.BAR; \*384: 5, UGULA. The name of a sovereign, namely that of Ammitakum, the king appears only on the tablet \*20: line 8. Ammitakum loaned silver to Arammu, the weaver, who, together with his wife and sons entered the house of Ammitakum.<sup>152</sup> One of the Egli-Addu's co-witnesses, Arib-Šawuška who lived towards the end of level VII (a person bearing a similar name is also known from the time of Ammitakum I) is mentioned in several securely dated texts (\*21: 16 – Ammitakum II – Hammurāpi II; \*22: 16 – Ammitakum II – Hammurāpi II; other mentions: \*20: 13; \*26: 17; \*203: 21). The text \*20 can be dated to the reign of Ammitakum II on the basis of Arib-Šawuška's mention. It is not mere coincidence that Egli-Addu, the overseer of the weavers was the witness to the *mazzazānūtu*-contract of Arammu, the weaver.

Tablet \*36 is of prime importance as regards the family tree of Niqma-Addu, since it enables us to complement the stemma drawn by D. Collon<sup>153</sup> with another member. D. J. Wiseman who published the tablet<sup>154</sup> regarded this text as a *mazzazānūtu*-contract in which 'the debtor is to be his own security'. M. Tsevat<sup>155</sup>, however, suggested that 'a third person (Ashmad-riaddu?) is to be the debtor's security'. The key to the interpretation of the text is provided by the reading of line 5. The transliteration of M. Tsevat on the basis his translation is *ù Aš-ma-at-ri-a-du*. This interpretation is questionable insofar as it does not specify the relationship between Egli-Addu, the debtor, and the security who went to the house of the loaner, Talm-ammu, which is always recorded in similar Alalah texts (e.g. \*43: 3, the debtor's son; \*18: 4–5, the two sons of the debtor; \*20: 5–6, the debtor, together with his wife and sons, etc.). Thus the reading of the line in question can only be *ù DUMU-šu' At-ri-a-du*, i.e. the security was Egli-Addu's son.<sup>156</sup> The text itself can probably be assigned to the reign of Ammitakum II for one of the witnesses, Ammuškina (line 12), also appears in \*39: line 10, a text dated with the year name of Hammurāpi II, furthermore, since another witness, Herzu, is listed among those men of Airraše who, according to tablet \*33, together with Egli-Addu's father, Niqma-Addu, borrowed silver from the lady Sumunnabi during the reign of Irkabtum (Herzu: \*33: 8 and \*36: 10). Since Herzu is listed as a witness we have grounds for assuming that the Egli-Addu of text \*36 is the son of Niqma-Addu, and that Atri-Addu is the grandson of Niqma-Addu. Persons bearing the name of Atri-Addu occur in several other Alalah texts (see 3.5. in connection with Atri-Addu, Dinī-Addu's son).

The texts discussed in the foregoing, the family tree of Niqma-Addu and the chronological relationship between the members of this family and the sovereigns of Halab and Alalah are summarized in Table 3.

**3.7.** Returning once more to the texts mentioning the name Ammitakum, the mention of Arib-Šawuška as a witness assigns tablet \*26 to the reign of Ammitakum II. The tablet is a *mazzazānūtu*-document. The wife and the sons of Sunna, the son of Muti, go to dwell in the house of Ammitakum as securities for the silver Sunna borrowed from Ammitakum II. It would appear that Sunna, can be equated with the person mentioned in \*23: 14, \*25: 9, \*33: 23, \*44: 4, \*59: 10, \*53: r. 8, \*65: 9, \*257: 5, who usually appears as a witness. Of the tablets listed in the above, texts \*33 and \*65 were recorded in the reign of Irkabtum, text \*44 in the days of Iarimlim III, king of Halab. In the foregoing we have ascertained that tablet \*59 can be assigned to the reign of Irkabtum – Ammitakum II, moreover that \*53 was probably written during the reign of Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah. Line 15 of text \*257 which cannot be related to the system set out in Table 4, mentions Wandī-Šawuška who appears together with Kizzi (\*206), a servant of a *bārām*-priest called Kussi, who was a contemporary of Arib-Šawuška and Lubar-wandi (\*206: 2; \*373: 6), active in the days of Ammitakum I, and who was also contemporaneous with Arib-Šawuška



Table 3

<i>Alalah</i>	<i>Iamḥad</i>						Pendi-Addu
		Nigma-Addu	Egli-Addu	Ammi-Addu	Atri-Addu	Aia-Sarti	
Iarimlim I	Abba-il	*456: 70	*18 A	*18: 3			*18: 4 *63: 16
	Iarimlim II	*455: 48	*63: 17 *268: 21 *384: 5	*30: 14			
	Niqmepuḥ		*60: r.12 *98d: 2	*98d: 8, 16			
Iarimlim II		*98d: 5	*265: 6 *274: 16 *205: 27		*205: 28		
	Irkabtum	*33: 6 *78: 22 *80: 14		*38: 17			
Anmitakum II	Iarimlim III		*20: 14 *36: 4				
	Ḥammurāpi II				*30: 5		

and Kussi (\*373), dates the tablet to the reign of Ammitakum I, perhaps Iarimlim II, rulers of Alalah. It should be noted that tablet \*378 is a ration list which records the presents made on the occasion of the marriage of Kussi, a *bārūm*-priest, to the daughter of a *šangū*-priest of Ištar (lines 20–22, *i-nu-ma* DUMU.MÍ<sup>156</sup> SANGA<sup>157</sup> IŠTAR / <sup>m</sup>Ku-uz-zi<sup>158</sup> UZU<sup>159</sup> / *i-hi-ru*). The marriage took place in the time of Ammitakum I–Niqmepuh, since text \*378: line 2 mentions that Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL (in my opinion he is the son of Ammitakum I) also received 11 *še'u* of silver. Consequently, Sunna was active between the reign of Ammitakum I and Ammitakum II, and of Irkabtum and Iarimlim III of Halab. It is thus highly probable that the Ammitakum mentioned in \*25: line 5 and \*23: 1 is Ammitakum II. In the case of tablet \*23 this possibility is also supported by the fact that Zukraši stood as security for his brother Pendam-muṣuni (earlier mentioned in text \*60: line 8) who borrowed 30 *šiglums* of silver; Zukraši, designated as UGULA AGA.ŪS, was witness to the will of Ammitakum II (\*6: 27) and is also known from Hittite sources.<sup>157</sup>

According to tablet \*24 Ammitakum, the king loaned 1 *manû* of silver to Nādina and Zikilda, two *kutturum*-men,<sup>158</sup> who in exchange for the loan entered the palace. The members of their households acted as sureties. Of the two debtors, only Nādina is mentioned in other texts. In text \*360: line 1 he is mentioned as a weaver who gave 80 units of wool to the lady Ilunnabi. He also appears in \*359: line 2 as a receiver of 68 units of *hidru*-wool.<sup>159</sup> In tablet \*359 he is listed together with another weaver, Ariia (line 4) who can perhaps be identified with the man who borrowed 4 *šiglums* of silver from Aram-muṣuni (\*39: line 3). This (W)ariia sealed the tablet which is dated with the year name of Hammurāpi II.<sup>160</sup> In \*265: 17 he is designated as GĪR who received the rations of women who were in the company of the sovereign. Text \*283a: lines 6–7 record that he received 36 *parīsum* of flour (ZĪ.DA). These two latter texts do not mention prince Iarimlim, wherefore the tablets could be confidently assigned to the reign of Ammitakum I, but Table 6 clearly shows that tablets \*265 and \*283a date to the close of the reign of Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah. But since Ariia is also mentioned during the reign of Hammurāpi II, it would be more plausible to ascribe the tablet \*24 to the reign of Ammitakum II.<sup>161</sup>

Tablet \*19 records that Ammitakum loaned 10 *šiglums* of silver to Abdi-Išhara. The debtor, Abdi-Išhara (\*40: 6, \*204: 4, \*270: 20) was a contemporary of Kuzaḡ-adal (\*40: 5) who also appears in \*33: line ascribed to the reign of Irkabtum and in \*25: 4 written in the days of Ammitakum II. Another of his contemporaries, Lubar-šarri (\*40: 8) is mentioned together with Iarimlim, the prince (\*272: 5). Abdi-Išhara's son, Pendi-Addu received bows and arrows together with Lubar-giba (\*205: lines 2 and 10) who is listed among the witnesses in tablet \*63: 18 dated with the year name of Niqmepuh. The chronological evidence outlined in the foregoing imply that tablet \*19 was written in the time of Ammitakum I.

Tablet \*28 deals with a loan. Kurbi-zan, the son of Niminašu loaned 30 *šiglums* of silver to Ašma-Addu, the son of Dakabiti, to Wikkien, Zuk-



rašī and Ta'uzi. Ammitakum paid their debts to Kurbi-zan and the four fowlers (<sup>161</sup>mešū-ša-an-du, in line 5) went to dwell in the palace together with their wives and sons. These debtors and the loaner only appear in this text. The penalty clause of the text, published by D. J. Wiseman as lines 31–32 (left edge) belongs to text \*9.<sup>162</sup> Tablet \*28 cannot be dated precisely for we are unable to determine whether the Ammitakum mentioned in the text is Ammitakum I or II. N. Na'aman<sup>163</sup> puts the text among those which were written during the reign of Ammitakum II.

Tablet \*31 documents the loan of 25 *šiglu*ms of silver. The loaner is Ammitakum, the debtor is Šamaia. The debtor can probably be equated with the grandfather of Naṣwe who appears in tablet \*22. Naṣwe, the son of Taḡe borrowed 30 *šiglu*ms of silver from Ammitakum and entered the house of the king in exchange. His father, Taḡe, the son of Šamaia acted as a security. The text is dated with the year name of Hammurāpi II. On the basis of the evidence yielded by tablet \*22, we assign text \*31 to the reign of Ammitakum I since Šamaia's grandson was active under Ammitakum II.

Although we have already discussed text \*35, we have not yet dealt with the problem of determining the exact chronological position of prince Irkabtum whom we regarded as the son of king Niqmepuh, i.e. we have not defined which Ammitakum's contemporary he was. In my opinion the text deals with Ammitakum I who asked for the hand of the daughter of the sovereign of Ibla in marriage for his son.

Text \*86 has been briefly alluded to in the discussion of tablet \*7. There remains, however, the issue of clarifying which Ammitakum gave Abba-il the settlement of Suḥaruwa and 1000 *šiglu*ms of silver as a *zittu* in \*86: line 1. The events pertaining to the history of Suḥaruwa can be arranged in the following chronological order: in tablet \*86 Ammitakum I accorded the settlement of Suḥaruwa, the bequest of Ammurāpi and his wife, to Abba-il, Ammurāpi's son, as his rightful inheritance share.<sup>164</sup> (Text \*86 cannot thus be regarded as a deed of donation,<sup>165</sup> but should be interpreted as a royal decision: Ammitakum gave the settlement of Suḥaruwa to Abba-il not as his own property, the king was only the trustee of testamentary estate.<sup>166</sup>) When Ammitakum gave his judgement, he did not consider that Bittatti, the sister of Abba-il would make a claim to a part of the inheritance. She sued her brother and took the case before the higher authority, Niqmepuh, king of Halab. According to tablet \*7: line 15 Bittatti's witness, Abi-Addu testified that she was entitled to a share in the inheritance. Niqmepuh emended Ammitakum I's earlier decision and divided the inheritance. Ammitakum was represented by Mur-meni in Halab (line 45) and also by his son, Iarimlim. Our texts also reveal that the settlement of Suḥaruwa finally passed into the hands of Nakkusē. It is feasible that this event is recorded in tablet \*98a, since the fragmentary tablet mentions the price of the settlement of Suḥaruwa.<sup>167</sup> On the basis of text \*80 we may assume that Nakkusē bought the settlement from Abba-il and Bittatti, for he later exchanged Suḥaruwa for the

town Pitikla with Ammitakum II. In my opinion, text \*86 was written during the reign of Ammitakum I.

Another fragmentary tablet, \*98c also mentions the name of Ammitakum (lines 2 and 8). Unfortunately both the claimant, Aḫišdu, and the three witnesses, Talli[ ], Sumiriba and Ili-Addu appear only on this tablet and thus it cannot be ascertained before which Ammitakum the case was taken.<sup>168</sup>

The name of Ammitakum occurs in three other cases. Text \*409 is a distribution list according to which, lines 41–46, ŠU.NIGIN 7 *me-tim* GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ZI.GA / 6 TÚG<sup>h4</sup> 3 *túglip-pa-ni* / ù 1 GÍR ša GUŠKIN *za-am-du* / *an-nu-ut-tim* ZI.GA ša *Am-mi-ta-kum* / *i-nu-ma* DUMU.MÍ LÚ<sup>uru</sup> *A-pi-šal<sup>ki</sup>* / *i-ḫi-ir*, Ammitakum distributed a total of 700 *šiglums* of silver, 6 garments of which 3 were *lippanu*,<sup>169</sup> and 3 were *nahlaptu*, and a dagger with a golden sheath, when he wed the daughter of the lord of Apišal.<sup>170</sup> The Ammitakum in question can only be, in my opinion, Ammitakum II for according to the text \*6, the will of Ammitakum which was read in the presence of Iarimlim III, king of Halab, when he appointed his son Hammurāpi, who was born to him by the daughter of Nawar-adal (\*6: 11–13, ... *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi* DUMU-šu / ša DUMU.MÍ *Na-wa-ar-a-dal* LÚ URU / *ul-<sup>1</sup>dū<sup>1</sup>-ú-šu*; the name of the city where Nawar-adal was an *awēlum* is Apišal<sup>171</sup>). In my view, Ammitakum of tablet \*6 and \*409 is similar. N. Na'aman<sup>172</sup> argues that the Ammitakum of \*409 is Ammitakum I, because of he completed the line 3 as follows: "... and 1 dagger with golden sheath delivered to A[ya, ruler of Apišal]". According to N. Na'aman, the single golden dagger was presented to the future father-in-law, Aia, who is not Nawar-adal of text \*6. He also mentions that Tagi-Išhara (\*409: 6, DAM LUGAL), the wife of Aia is the mother-in-law. Unfortunately the tablet is damaged at the end of line 3, so the restoration is questionable. According to D. Collon<sup>173</sup> Tagi-Išhara is the wife of Nawar-adal.

The name of Ammitakum is also mentioned in text \*410: 11+7. According to D. J. Wiseman the tablet lists those objects which Ammitakum took from the rebels who rose against him and which he distributed the following year. These include 400 *šukurru*-weapons of iron (line 13, 4 ME <sup>gis</sup>ŠUKUR ša 'AN.BAR<sup>1</sup>) listed at the end of the text which ends with the formula, lines 17–21: *an-nu-ut-tim* [...] / ša *Am-mi-ta-<sup>1</sup>kum<sup>1</sup>* -<sup>1</sup>*ma<sup>1</sup>* [LÚ/LUGAL(?)] 'A<sup>1</sup>-*la-la-aḫ<sup>ki</sup>* / *a-di* MU II KAM ZI.GA / *ú-še-iš-šu* / ša AZAG<sup>1</sup> *i-ku-lu*. The interpretation of the above lines is no easy matter, even more so since D. J. Wiseman's reading is incorrect. Apart from the name of Ammitakum the text does not record any other personal names, wherefore it cannot be definitely ascertained whether the text was written during the reign of Ammitakum I or II.

Tablet \*411 is an account of silver and various garments distributed as presents at the wedding of the daughter (line 24: DUMU.MÍ LÚ *A-la-la-aḫ<sup>ki</sup>*) of Ammitakum (?), line 14: [*a-n*]a *qa-ti* *Am-mi-[ta<sup>?</sup>-kum<sup>?</sup>]*). The name of the bride was probably Biia (lines 5 and 11), the bridegroom was probably named Ari(?) - Tešub, the *sukkallum* (line 22: *A-x<sup>d</sup>*IM SUKKAL<sup>2</sup>).



Insofar as the restauration of the bridegroom's name is correct, he can perhaps be associated with the scribe Ari-Tešub mentioned in text \*6: line 33 who witnessed the will of Ammitakum II. On the occasion of the wedding, lines 21–25: ŠU.NIGÍN 71[+x MA.NA] 34 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> / ZI.GA ù<sup>1</sup> nu<sup>1</sup>-du-un-nu-ù / an-nu-ut-tim i-nu-ma A-ri<sup>2</sup>.<sup>d</sup>IM SUKKAL<sup>2</sup> / DUMU.MÍ LÚ A-la-la-ah<sup>ki</sup> / a-na<sup>mi</sup> É.GI.A-šu (ihir/ilqi), the sovereign spent a considerable amount of silver on the purchase of cattle, sheep and garments. Since the bridegroom only occurs in this text, and the identification of the bridegroom is extremely doubtful, the text is assigned to the reign of Ammitakum II only conditionally.

#### 4. The chronological problems of the ration lists

After discussing texts mentioning rulers of Alalah only, we must now turn to the texts dealing with princes, especially prince Iarimlim. Taking the texts in which Iarimlim *mār šarri* appears as a starting point, we can perhaps 'sort out' the 49 texts numbered \*236–\*238b, since Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL who later became Iarimlim II can only be the son of Ammitakum I. Thus, in accordance with the chronological system outlined in the foregoing, texts mentioning prince Iarimlim can be dated to the time of Ammitakum I.

##### 4.1. Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL

We should like to point out by way of introduction that the DUMU LUGAL / *mār šarri* appears not only with Iarimlim, and not only on the mentioned 49 ration lists.

In text \*35: line 3 mention is made of Irkabtum DUMU LUGAL, the son of Niqmepuh, king of Halab. The Irkabtum appearing in \*96: line 22 can probably also be regarded as Niqmepuh's son. Text \*35: line 13 mentions Ammarikki DUMU LUGAL (a *nārum* also by the name of Ammarikki is known from level VII: \*248: 11, \*249: 3) who was perhaps the brother of Irkabtum or another son of Ammitakum I, but the possibility that he was the son of a sovereign ruling in another provincial centre (the king of Iamḥad was followed by 20 sovereigns!) who came to attend the wedding of Ammitakum I's son in Alalah must also be considered. Abba-il DUMU LUGAL appears in \*346: 3. The GİR<sup>16</sup> DUMU LUGAL, the title is recorded in text \*376: 13 received 3 *šiglums* of silver. According to text \*409: lines 17–18 two(?) princes whose names are not known because the tablet is broken, received gifts on the occasion of Ammitakum's wedding.

Text \*378: line 2, when: i-nu-ma DUMU.MÍ<sup>16</sup> SANGA<sup>16</sup> IŠTAR / <sup>m</sup>Ku-uz-zi<sup>16</sup> UZÚ / i-ḫi-ru (lines 20–22), Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL received 11 *še'ums* of silver.

Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL appears in the following ration lists:

\*238: 42 – even though A. Goetze<sup>174</sup> is inclined to restore the end of the fragmentary line as DUMU LUGAL, he could not interpret the *ku-bi-li* sign group satisfactorily, and thus we do not take this locus into consideration;

\*247: 3 — Iarimlim is designated as GĪR, perhaps instead of GĪR.NITÁ, i. e. he ranked as *šakkanakkum*; <sup>175</sup> the tablet was written in the month Attana;

\*248: 12 — the tablet was made in the month Attana;

\*249: 7 — this ration list was also drawn up in the month Attana;

\*255: 10 — the list was compiled in the month Likkaše;

\*258: 31 — the tablet was written in the month Bala'e;

\*259: 14 — only the name Iarimlim is mentioned, and it could well be that we are dealing with the *sākinu* called Iarimlim here (\*245: 13 and \*248: 6); this list was also assembled in the month Bala'e;

\*265: 7 — the name is preceded by the title GĪR and since the *sākinu* Iarimlim is also designated as GĪR, this locus is not unambiguous; the tablet was made in the month Hutizzi (this month name is in line 33, the month name of line 1 is somewhat problematical); <sup>176</sup>

\*268: 13 — the text is undated;

\*272: 7 — the DUMU LUGAL ranks as GĪR; the month name in the last line of the text which does not appear in the autography and was only published later together with the transliteration of the text is uninterpretable; <sup>177</sup>

\*273: 7, 16 — the name Iarimlim occurs without any titles, thus its identification is impossible; the tablet was written in the month Izalli; the month name does not appear in the autography, only in D. J. Wiseman's transliteration; <sup>178</sup>

\*278: 13 — only an occurrence of the personal name, this could well be the *sākinu* for he is sometimes also bears the title GĪR.

Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL definitely appears in seven texts. 186 personal names occur in these 49 ration lists, but few of these occur twice, or even three times. In establishing the relationship of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL we have made use of the evidence concerning twenty-six persons. These are the following:

#### 4.2. Person appearing only in ration lists:

4.2.1. *Širri* (13): \*238: 14 (<sup>16</sup>MUŠEN.⟨DŪ⟩); \*241: 6; \*243: 4; \*251: 16; \*252: 19; \*254: 7; \*256: 24; \*258: 12 (in this text she appears together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL); \*261: 11; \*254: 7; \*265: 27; \*274: 14; \*283b: 6 — the text reveal that the lady *Širri* was a fowler;

4.2.2. *Nuni-giaze* (9): \*248: 7, 8 (together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL); \*249: 6, 11 (Iarimlim also appears in the list); \*251: 2; \*253: 8, 24; \*254: 14; \*255: 12 (also together with the *mār šarri*); \*258: 16 (together with the DUMU LUGAL); \*279: 8; \*283a: 16 — these texts mention one and the same person, a groom, in most cases he received horse fodder, and in one case, cattle fodder (\*279);

4.2.3. *Irhamila* (4): \*260: 11; \*264: 36; \*274: 27 (GĪR); \*283b: r. 9 — his title was GĪR, and he is not mentioned together with the DUMU LUGAL;

4.2.4. *Panzaki* (4): \*258: 14 (together with Iarimlim *mār šarri*); \*265: 24; \*273: 8 (*Pa-⟨an-⟩za-gi*); \*277: 12 (MUŠEN.⟨DŪ⟩) — he was a fowler;



**4.2.5.** *Ammuwan*<sup>179</sup> (3): \*239: 3, 12; \*242: 4; \*256: 20 — he was a groom, receiving horse fodder in each case;

**4.2.6.** *Azira* (3): \*246: 11 (the wife of the <sup>lú</sup>NAR), 21 (his wife), 35 (his wife); \*254: 13 (<sup>lú</sup>NAR), 20 (his wife), 25 (<sup>lú</sup>NAR) — he was a *nārum*-priest;

**4.2.7.** *Iašerieda* (3): \*253: 26 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*257: 8, \*267: 7 — his profession is *kizām*;<sup>180</sup>

**4.2.8.** *Sumilammu* (3): \*240: 8 (<sup>lú</sup>GĪR.SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA); \*241: 13; \*268: 6 (<sup>lú</sup>GAR, together with *Iarimlim mār šarri*) — he was a *giršequ*, royal official,<sup>181</sup> and *šaknum*<sup>182</sup> respectively which do not contradict each other, for he probably rose in the world;

**4.2.9.** *Tašeia* (3): \*254: 17 (GĪR ŠAH);<sup>183</sup> \*268: 23 (<sup>lú</sup>SĪB, together with *Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL*); \*274: 15 (<sup>lú</sup>SĪB) — he was a shepherd, swineherd by profession.

### 4.3. Persons mostly appearing in ration lists

**4.3.1.** *Kinni* (11:1): \*241: 8 (<sup>lú</sup>MUŠEN.DÛ); \*242: 12; \*243: 6 (<sup>lú</sup>MUŠEN.DÛ), 19; \*246: 8, 12 (<sup>lú</sup>MUŠEN.DÛ); \*248: 5 (GĪR, together with *DUMU LUGAL*); \*251: 15, 26 (GĪR); \*262: 10; \*264: 15 (MUŠEN.DÛ); \*272: 6 (GĪR, <sup>lú</sup>MUŠEN.DÛ, together with *Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL*); \*273: 12; \*274: 11, 31 (GĪR, <sup>lú</sup>MUŠEN.DÛ); and \*97: 14 (<sup>lú</sup>hazannum he has a seal, too)<sup>184</sup> — he was a fowler, which does not contradict the fact that he also held the title of *hazannum*, since royal officials (e.g. *Irramitti* and *Wəri-giba* also bore this title) could also fill this post;<sup>185</sup> it would appear that tablet \*97 was made at a later date for *Talm-ammu* is also mentioned who — if we regard his securely dated occurrences — was mainly active under the reign of *Irkabtum* and *Iarimlim III*;<sup>186</sup> this is furthermore also corroborated by the fact that the co-witness of *Kinni* in tablet \*97, *Subahali* appears in the ration lists fairly often, sometimes together with *Kinni*, but never with *Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL*; thus tablet \*97 was probably drawn up in the days of *Iarimlim II*, ruler of *Alalah*, the contemporary of *Niqmepuh* and *Irkabtum*;

**4.3.2.** *Purra* (9:1): \*240: 7 (GĪR, <sup>lú</sup>NINDA.DÛ.DÛ); \*241: 14; \*252: 11; \*256: 12 (<sup>lú</sup>NINDA.DU<sub>8</sub>.DU<sub>8</sub>); \*260: 10; \*264: 34; \*268: 7 (<sup>lú</sup>NINDA.DU<sub>8</sub>.DU<sub>8</sub>, together with *Iarimlim mār šarri*); \*278: 1, 14 (GĪR); \*238b: r. 5 (<sup>lú</sup>NINDA.DU<sub>8</sub>.DU<sub>8</sub>); and \*78: 18 — he earned a living as a cook, a baker; in our opinion there are no serious chronological obstacles to identify this contemporary of *Iarimlim mār šarri* with the witness called *Purra* listed in tablet \*78, dated to the reign of *Ammitakum II*;

**4.3.3.** *Zukraši* (7:3): \*252: 18 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*253: 10 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*254: 8; \*256: 23 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*264: 6 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*274: 13 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*283b: 7 (<sup>lú</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>?); furthermore \*6: 27 (UGULA AGA.ÚS, witness); \*23: 9 (security); \*28: 3, 16 (<sup>lú</sup>usandu) — as I mentioned before (3.7), *Zukraši*, the fowler, formerly the debtor of *Kurbi-zan*, the son of *Niminasu* became the debtor of *Am-*

mitakum; in the court he acted as a *kizūm*, probably a soldier;<sup>187</sup> who later on — insofar as we are dealing with the same person — attained the rank of *šāpīr redī*,<sup>187</sup> and who is also mentioned in Hittite texts; in connection with tablet \*28 it is more probable that it was written during the reign of Ammitakum II because of the career of Zukraši;

**4.3.4. Etārmalik / Iaṭārmalik** (6:2): \*238: 38; \*260: 8; \*264: 35; \*269: 55 (GĪR, <sup>14</sup>NAR), 67 (GĪR, <sup>14</sup>NAR); \*278: 7 (GĪR, <sup>14</sup>NAR); \*280: 10 (*E-ṭi-ir-ma-lik* <sup>14</sup>NAR?); furthermore \*7: 44, seal d;<sup>188</sup> \*378: 4; (\*64: 11, the father of Aḫia); cp. Table 5 — he was a *nārum*-priest according to the testimony of the ration lists; his father was Šamši-Addu, the overseer of the merchants; although he does not appear together with Iarimlim *mār šarri* in the ration lists, he left his sealing on tablet \*378 in which he is mentioned together with the prince and which is dated with the year name of Niqmepuh; we shall discuss his immediate family later on;

**4.3.5. Irra-imitti** (5:2): \*240: 17; \*241: 22; \*245: 9; \*248: 14; \*251: 22; furthermore \*79: 30 (witness); \*95: r. 13 (*ḥazannum*, witness) — in spite of the fact that his name is always recorded without title and rank, he can be identified on the basis of the context; e.g. in tablet \*240 horse fodder was distributed for the horses in the *napšakum*, i.e. granary, store-house under the supervision of Irra-imitti; \*241: lines 20–22: 120 *paršums* of grain are distributed from the grain (of the granary) under the supervision of Irra-imitti; \*45: 8–9: ŠU + NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 1 ME 95 *pa-ri-si še-a-am / ša* Í.DUB *ša* <sup>d</sup>*Īr-ra-i-mi-ti*; \*248: 13–14, ŠU + NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 3 ME 21 PA ŠE ZI.GA / *ša* Í.DUB *Īr-ra-i-mi-ti*; \*251: 21–22, ŠU + NIGIN<sub>2</sub> ŠU + NIGIN<sub>2</sub> 2 ME 50 PA ŠE ZI.GA / *ša* Í.DUB <sup>d</sup>*Īr-ra-i-mi-ti*; he was thus the overseer of the granary of the royale household; as a witness he appears in the days of Ammitakum I — Iarimlim II of Ḫalab (\*95) and held the office of *ḥazannum*; his contemporaneity with Iarimlim *mār šarri* can only be established indirectly, for they are not listed together in the ration lists; his other occurrence as a witness also falls under the reign of Ammitakum I — Iarimlim II of Ḫalab;

**4.3.6. Šinurabi** (5:2): \*242: 2, 3; \*245: 7; \*246: 27; \*248: 2 (together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL); \*265: 5 (DUMU *Ir-pa-IM*!); furthermore \*78: 9; \*80: 12 (witness); cp. Table 6 — in our opinion he was Šamši-Addu's brother, Irpa-Addu's son; and although he was a contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL, he lived to see the accession of the latter's successor, Ammitakum II;

**4.3.7. Aia-šarri** (2:1): \*243: 22 (GĪR); \*274: 4 (<sup>14</sup>MUŠEN.DŪ); and \*18: 4 (surety) — we already discussed him, cp. Table 3; we would like to emphasize here that the two ration lists in which he appears can definitely be assigned to the days of Ammitakum I since a document dated with the year name of Iarimlim II of lamḫad records that his father delivered him and his brother as securities into Ammitakum's hands and that he could only have received rations from the royal household after this event;



**4.3.8. Subahali** (6:3): \*238: 37; \*240: 9 (<sup>14</sup>GĪR.SIG<sub>5</sub>.GA); \*241: 4; \*252: 12 (<sup>14</sup>RĀ.GAB); \*268: 5 (together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL); \*278: 11; furthermore \*6: 29 (SUKKAL, witness); \*97: 16 (witness);<sup>189</sup> \*376: 16 (GĪR) — he was a contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL and it is quite possible that he lived to see the rule of Ammitakum II — Iarimlim III of Halab; his offices which are recorded in the ration lists do not contradict each other, both can be interpreted as being of a military nature,<sup>190</sup> and it also appears plausible that he was promoted to *sukkallum*, leading royal official by the time of Ammitakum II;<sup>191</sup> text \*97 in which Kinni is also listed among the witnesses dates to the reign of Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah; as regards the date of tablet \*376, the only clue provided by the text is that it was written *i-nu-ma* LUGAL GAL *i-lu-ú* (line 4); the term LUGAL GAL refers to the sovereign of Halab, LUGAL in line 11 to the ruler of Alalah and the <sup>14</sup>DUMU LUGAL in line 13 perhaps to the son of the ruler of Alalah; apart from Subahali, only two persons are mentioned who also appears in other texts; GĪR Abi-Addu, the <sup>14</sup>E.SIMUG, a smith<sup>192</sup> receives 6 *šiglums* of silver according to line 1; the other oft-mentioned person in the tablet is Naḥmi-Dagan (line 7); this latter was a witness designated as *sukkallum* at the signing of a contract according to which Hepat-muḥirni and her son, Abi-Addu sold the whole area of the settlement of Iburia with its exemption rights to Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah; the tablet was dated with the year name of Niqmepuḥ; this sale contract definitely implies that the family became impoverished and probably had to sell all its estates; text \*379 records that Abi-Addu was paid 50 *šiglums* of silver for a vineyard lying in the town of Zibbi; the poverty of the family is also demonstrated by the fact that Abi-Addu had to borrow money, 1/3 *šiglums* of silver (text \*380); at the time of the loan he was the *awēlum* of the settlement of Nanab; the possibility that we are dealing with the same person, i.e. with a smith who also had landed property (e.g. the lady Urubaltum, the wife of Dūru, the smith had a vineyard covering an area of 2 *ikūs* in Airraše, \*63; the vineyard was subsequently purchased by Šamši-Addu, the tablet was also dated with Niqmepuḥ; it would be somewhat difficult to elucidate why smiths became impoverished under the reign of Niqmepuḥ), and stood in royal service; Abi-Addu's seal is also known to us;<sup>193</sup> the other person appearing in the text \*376 with whom we shall deal later on, is Naḥmi-Dagan, the *sukkallum* of Niqmepuḥ; the comparative evidence thus suggests that the great king of tablet \*376 can only be Niqmepuḥ, the king can be identified with Ammitakum I on the basis of Subahali's occurrence, wherefore the DUMU LUGAL must be Iarimlim;

**4.3.9. Abitāba** (5:3): \*248: 10 (<sup>14</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*261: 16; \*267: 13 (DU[<sup>14</sup>MU *Qa-an-a-du*]); \*269: 4 (DUMU *Qa-an-a-du*), 45 (GĪR); \*280: r. 6 (DUMU [...]); further on \*32: 12 (witness); \*37: 3 (debtor, LÚ *Ku-zu-bi-ia*<sup>ki</sup>), 8 (debtor, LÚ *Ku-zu-bi-ia*<sup>ki</sup>); \*367: 10 — he is contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL who earned a living as a *kizūm*; of the texts quoted above only the Abitāba of text \*37 cannot be identified with the *kizūm*, for the

*awēlum* of the settlement Kuzubia became the debtor of Talm-ammu, a private person and not of the king or the palace; as we have ascertained in the foregoing, tablet \*32 was written during the reign of Ammitakum I—Iarimlim II and \*367 in the time of Ammitakum I—Niqmepuh, and there are no chronological drawbacks to regard the Abītabas mentioned in the other texts as the selfsame person:

**4.3.10.** *Aštābi-zarra* (3:2): \*246: 9 (<sup>lu</sup>SAG ?); \*270: 2 (DUMU *Am-mi-e-da*); \*283a: 13; and \*29: 17 (debtor); \*34: 18 (debtor, LÚ <sup>uru</sup>*Ku-bi-ia*) — he is not mentioned together with Iarimlim *mār šarri*, and the ration lists in which he appears can be assigned to the days of Iarimlim II and Ammitakum II; insofar as we have restored \*29: line 1 correctly, Aštābi-zarra, who was formerly the debtor of Dāda, the son of Kuppurum now became the debtor of the sovereign together with two of his companions; since the document does not specifically state that he had to work on royal estates we can perhaps assume that he entered the service of the *šangū*-priest of Ištar, or he was dealing with the priest's matters on behalf of the court (he received the rations of the priest in \*270); it is also possible that he was the person who, together with 12 of his companions of Kubia borrowed a certain amount of money from the lady Sumunnabi whose activity can be traced to the days of Irkabtum, but is nevertheless already mentioned in a ration list ascribed to the reign of Niqmepuh (\*244: 5, Naḥmi-Dagan, the men of Niqmepuh also appears in this text);

**4.3.11.** *Egluwe* (4:2): \*240: 13 (<sup>lu</sup>BUR.GUL); \*263: 14; \*268: 3 (<sup>lu</sup>BUR.GUL, together with Iarimlim *mār šarri*); \*274: 3 (<sup>lu</sup>BUR.GUL); further on \*373: 25 (BUR.GUL); \*377: 1 (GĪR, <sup>lu</sup>BUR.GUL) — he was a stone-cutter by profession,<sup>194</sup> and a contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL; he appears in two other texts which also mention Ibla, the town with which Alalah established dynastic relations during the reign of Ammitakum I (\*35); Egluwe was a contemporary of Arib-Šawuška in \*373, who, in turn, was contemporaneous with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL through his wife in tablet \*378 (there were presumably two persons by the name of Arib-Šawuška, one of who lived in the time of Ammitakum II—Ḫammurāpi II);

**4.3.12.** *Išma-Addu* (6:[4]): see point 3.5.; there are at least three persons bearing this name, a carpenter, a baker and a *nārum*-priest; the name appears in ration lists two times without mention of function and it is difficult to ascertain what the profession of the Išma-Addu is question was; it is nevertheless certain that the baker Iarimlim was a contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL.

#### 4.4. *Persons mainly appearing in texts other than ration lists*

**4.4.1.** *Naḥmi-Dagan* (4:5): \*242: 7 (*Na-mi-da-ka* / LÚ<sup>1</sup> *A-du-e<sup>ki</sup>*);<sup>195</sup> \*244: 6 (<sup>lu</sup>RĀ.GAB); \*268: 9 (<sup>lu</sup>SAGI, together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL); \*274: 6 (<sup>lu</sup>RĀ.GAB); further on \*7: 43 (witness, SUKKAL), seal b (SUKKAL);<sup>196</sup> \*11: 19, 33 (witness); \*52: 23 (SUKKAL); \*58: 23 (SUKKAL);



\*96: 24 (SUKKAL); \*120: 1 (<sup>16</sup>SAGI); \*376: 7 — he was a *šaḡūm*-cup-bearer<sup>197</sup> and subsequently *rakbum*-messenger and *sukkallum*-vizier standing in the service of the court of Halab; his dated occurrences can be assigned to the days of Niqmepuḫ (\*7, \*11, \*52, \*96) and Irkabtu (\*58);

**4.4.2.** *Egli-Addu* (5:8): see point 3.6; the name Egli-Addu was probably borne by several persons; in my opinion the text mentioning the two *nārum*-priests cannot be linked to Egli-Addu, the son of Niqma-Addu, who held important posts in the royal court (*sukkallum*, the overseer of the weavers; this latter played an important rôle in the royal economy of Alalah which was oriented towards the production of textiles);

**4.4.3.** *Atri-Addu* (4+2:7): see point 3.5; the Atri-Addu mentioned in the ration lists, his wife appears in two texts, was the son of Dini-Addu, a high-ranking *sukkallum*, who is mentioned together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL several times; his occurrences in texts other than ration lists can be securely dated to the days of Iarimlim II — Irkabtu; at the start of his career he was a *kizūm* (\*370: 2) and a GĪR,<sup>198</sup> and he was subsequently appointed a *sukkallum* in the time of Niqmepuḫ;

**4.4.4.** *Wari-giba* (5:10): \*240: 19 (SUKKAL);<sup>199</sup> \*253: 25 (<sup>16</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*256: 25 (<sup>16</sup>KUŠ<sub>7</sub>); \*266: 2 (<sup>16</sup>SUKKAL); \*281: 10 (GĪR); furthermore \*18: 15 (*E-wa-ri-ki-ba*, witness);<sup>200</sup> \*23: 13 (witness); \*25: 8 (*E-wa-ri-ki-ba* SUKKAL, witness); \*27: 9 (<sup>16</sup>SUKKAL); \*52: 24 (*ḥazannum*, witness); \*53: r. 7 (witness); \*58: 25 (SAGI, witness); \*59: 13 (IGI *E-wa-ri-ki-ba* 'SUKKAL');<sup>201</sup> \*61: 20 (witness); \*96: 27 (ṚLÚ AN.ZA.GĀR, witness) — Wari-giba, a high-ranking official who had two seals, never appears together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL; his seal which bore no inscription was preserved on the envelope of tablet \*18 (18A) dated to the reign of Iarimlim II of Halab; his inscribed seal has survived on a fragment;<sup>202</sup> in one case he used the seal of Ariš-nubar;<sup>203</sup> the dated occurrences of Wari-giba are as follows: Niqmepuḫ (\*52, \*96; furthermore \*53 from the time of Iarimlim II of Alalah), Irkabtu (\*58; furthermore \*23, \*25 and \*59 ascribed to the days of Ammitakum II), Iarimlim III (\*27, \*61); insofar as we are dealing with the same person who made a career at the court of both Halab and Alalah (the Iarimlim mentioned on his inscribed seal, No. 147, is probably Iarimlim III for the sovereign of Alalah was Ammitakum at this time), he held the title of *kizūm* and GĪR respectively in the days Iarimlim II and Ammitakum II; he was a *ḥazannum* during the reign of Niqmepuḫ and also bore the title *awēl dimi*; as regards this latter title it should be pointed out that \*96: line 27 could perhaps be interpreted not as *dimtu*, i.e. a settlement or economic unit, but as a town called Dimat;<sup>204</sup> at the close of Irkabtu's reign he was a cup-bearer, and later a *sukkallum*; tablets \*240 and \*266 were written in the days of Iarimlim II of Alalah and his successor; it would appear that Wari-giba was an extremely long-lived person who served under three kings;

**4.4.5.** *Šamši-Addu* (4:10): \*245: 12 (ŠEŠ LUGAL); \*255: 5; \*258: 19, 32 (ŠEŠ LUGAL); \*276: 8; furthermore \*7: seal c (UGULA DAM.GĀR);<sup>205</sup>

\*30: 15 (<sup>14</sup>DUB.SAR); \*57: 15, 25, 28, 35, 48;<sup>206</sup> \*60: 6; \*63: 5; \*80: 17 (<sup>14</sup>DUB.SAR); \*96: 7;<sup>207</sup> \*98a: 1; \*98d: 10; \*203: 2; \*378: 15 or 17, see Table 5 — we shall return to the immediate family of Šamši-Addu later on; he appears in a ration list and in another tablet together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL; his well dated occurrences are the following: Niqmepuḫ (\*7, \*63, \*96), Ammitakum I (\*30, \*98d), Ammitakum II (\*80); tablet \*98a was written between tablet \*7 and \*80; text \*203 can be assigned to the reign of Ammitakum II on the grounds that Arib-Šawuška, Talm-ammu and Irwiri-Addu are mentioned in it (lines 21 and 6); Šamši-Addu's father, Irpa-Addu was the overseer of the merchants who handed on his title to his son who already bore it in the days of Niqmepuḫ — Iarimlim II of Alalah; the family stood in the service of the sovereigns of Alalah.

4.5. The evidence concerning the 26 personal names has been tabulated in Table 4. Persons appearing in the same text as Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL have been marked by ○, repeated occurrences of persons mentioned in other texts together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL have been marked with △. Persons who are not mentioned together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL have been marked with ⟨⟩. Evidence concerning persons who appear in texts other than ration lists which are dated with the year name of rulers of Halab have been tabulated in Table 4a. Those who are dated with the Alalahian rulers you can find in Table 4b.

On the basis of Table 4 the ration lists can be grouped as follows:

a) *tablets mentioning Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL*: the seven texts listed in the foregoing;

b) *tablets in which only his contemporaries appear*: \*241 (7), \*251 (5), \*245 (3), \*261 (2), \*263 (2), \*244 (1), \*262 (1), \*276 (1), \*277 (1), \*279 (1);

Table 4a

Together with the kings of Halab	Abba-il	Iarimlim II	Niqmepuḫ	Irkabtum	Iarimlim III	Ḫammurapi II
Abiṭāba		x			x	
Atri-Addu/Dini-Addu		x	x			
Egli-Addu/Niqma-Addu			x			
Eṭarmalik/Šamši-Addu			x			
Irra-imitti		x				
Išma-Addu/Dini-Addu			x	x		
Naḫmi-Dagan			x	x		
Subaḫali					x	
Šamši-Addu/Irpa-Addu			x			
Wəri-giba			x	x	x	
Zukraši					x	



Table 4

[illegible]

Table 4b

Together with the rulers of Alalah	Iarimlim I	Ammitakum I	Iarimlim II	Ammitakum II
Abiṭāba		x		
Egli-Addu/Niqma-Addu		x		x
Šamši-Addu/Irpa-Addu		x		x
Wari-giba		x	x	x
Zukraši				x

c) tablets mainly listing his contemporaries: \*240 (5:1), \*265 (4:1), \*252 (3:1), \*243 (2:1), \*273 (2:1), \*274 (7:4), \*254 (3:2), \*238 (4:3);

d) tablets in which contemporaries and non-contemporaries occur in equal number: \*242 (2:2), \*246 (2:2), \*278 (2:2), \*267 (1:1), \*269 (1:1), \*280 (1:1), \*283a (1:1);

e) tablets in which mostly non-contemporaries are mentioned: \*253 (1:3), \*256 (2:4), \*260 (1:2), \*264 (3:5), \*283b (2:3);

f) tablets in which only non-contemporaries appear: \*281 (2), \*239 (1), \*259 (1), \*266 (1), \*270 (1), \*275 (1);

g) tablets which do not mention any one of the 26 persons (if we add to these the two Iarimlims, 28): \*236, \*237, \*250, \*257, \*271, \*282.

Let us now examine what can be gleaned from these groups as regards individual persons. According to Table 4a Šamši-Addu and his son, Eṭarmalik are also known from texts other than ration lists in the time of Niqmepuḫ. The ration lists mentioning Šamši-Addu fall into the following groups: *aa-bb*, i.e. twice he appears in texts together with prince Iarimlim and twice in texts which also mention contemporaries of the prince. His son, Eṭarmalik: *c-ddd-e*, i.e. in one case he is mentioned in a ration list which enumerates contemporaries of Iarimlim *mār šarri*, three times he is mentioned in texts in which contemporaries and non-contemporaries occur in equal number, and once in a text which predominantly lists non-contemporaries. This can perhaps be taken imply that the above groups also outline a chronological sequence according to which the ration lists assigned to group *a* are the earliest, and those ascribed to group *f* are the latest. Zukraši is mentioned in various ration lists and in a text securely dated to the reign of Iarimlim III of Ḫalab: *ccc-0-eeee*, i.e. he appears in four texts which list contemporaries of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL and four tablets in which non-contemporaries are predominant. If we now take a look from the opposite pole, i.e. the group persons documented in the time of Iarimlim II, king of Ḫalab, we find the following: Abiṭāba —



*a-b-0-ddd*; Atri-Addu — *aaa-bb-c* (including his wife); Irra-imitti — *a-bbb-c*. The groups to which the ration lists, in which these persons appear, were assigned reflect the chronological framework of Table 4a. Atri-Addu who was active under Iarimlim II — Niqmepuḥ appears in the ration lists without a break in the sequence. Abiṭaba's activity in the days of Iarimlim II and III of Ḥalab is matched by the testimony of the ration lists. Consequently these examples also corroborate the suggestion that groups marked with *a-b-c* give a chronological sequence.

The correlation between these groups and the rulers of Alalah is as follows: tablets assigned to group *a* and *b* were written in the second half of Ammitakum I's reign, those assigned to groups *c-d-e* in the time of Iarimlim II and those grouped under *f*, at the beginning of Ammitakum II's reign (the close of Irkabtum's reign, the beginning of Iarimlim III's rule). Wari-giba, a contemporary of three successive sovereigns of Ḥalab, is documented in ration lists assigned to groups *c-0-ee-ff*.

### 5. The family of Irpa-Addu

In the preceding pages we have sought to arrange certain texts from level VII within the chronological framework outlined in the foregoing. To check its accuracy, in the following we shall discuss one of the most prominent merchant families of Alalah during this period, the family of Irpa-Addu, the overseer of merchants and the chronology of texts in which members of his family appear. Several members of this family, such as Šamši-Addu, Irpa-Addu's son, Eṭarmalik, Irpa-Addu's grandson, Šinurabi, Šamši-Addu's brother have already been mentioned.

Texts dealing with Abba-il, king of Iamḥad are among the earliest from level VII. Irpa-Addu appears in four of five tablets listed in point 1.1. Text \*456: line 69 lists him among the witnesses, similarly to \*77: 16, where his title is also recorded, he is UGULA DAM.GĀR<sup>meš</sup>. According to tablet \*56 Irpa-Addu purchased all of Labbina's estates, text \*76, a contract, records that Irpa-Addu and three of his companions exchanged with king Abba-il their estates in the town of Ituwa for the town of Dimāt. Insofar as these are the same persons we may assume that Irpa-Addu was one of the persons who arrived together with Iarimlim I, the new ruler of Alalah from Irridi. During the reign of Ammitakum I he witnessed a contract which recorded that Iarimlim II, king of Ḥalab sold cattle on credit to six persons (\*32, in point 1.2.1.). One of Irpa-Addu's debtors, Ammar-Addu was redeemed by Iarimlim II, ruler of Alalah (\*41, under the point 3.2.). Irpa-Addu also appears in a ration list (\*256: 28) according to which he received 1 *parīsu* of barley for his horse. This ration list was assigned to group *e*, i.e. it was compiled in the days of Iarimlim II — Irkabtum. He lived to see the reign of Irkabtum and witnessed text \*65. Text \*57, a legal case, was probably drawn up in the time of Irkabtum, but after the death of Irpa-Addu. Irpa-Addu purchased the town of [...] Iššabar for 3000 *šiglums* of silver from Sapsieda, the son of Adabiššura. After Irpa-Addu's death the son of Sapsieda who bore the name of his grand-

father, Adabiššura, sued Šamši-Addu, the son of Irpa-Addu.<sup>208</sup> The litigant parties appeared before Laḫiṣaduq, to whom Šamši-Addu showed the sale contract and also presented two witnesses, Aḫimalik and his brother, Mešarum, the son of Irpa-Addu (lines 19, 42 and 48). The lawsuit was won by Šamši-Addu.

Beside Šamši-Addu and Mešarum, Irpa-Addu had a third son, Šinurabi. The evidence pertaining to Šamši-Addu has been summarized under the point 4.4.5, that referring to Šinurabi under 4.3.6. Apart from tablet \*57, Mešarum is listed among the witnesses in another text, \*95: r. line 15, ascribed to the reign of Ammitakum I—Iarimlim II (see on p. 7).

Šamši-Addu continued the profession of his father, he was an overseer of merchants, but he was sometimes also active as a scribe. Similarly to his father, he also endeavoured to enlarge his estates. During the reign of Niqmepuḫ he purchased 2 *ikûs* vineyard from the wife of the smith Dūru (\*63). He was interested in the town of Airraše, the vineyard in question situated in Aiirraše, because Sumunnabi also recognized his right in connection with his *eperum* in Airraše (\*96). He is mentioned together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL in two ration lists, and in text \*378. Presumably commissioned by Ammitakum I (*kima idātmi šarri*, "according to the order of the king")<sup>209</sup> he purchased the house of the lady Milabite in Ibla together with its windows for 500 *šiglums* of silver.<sup>210</sup> This purchase can perhaps be related to betrothal of the daughter of the ruler of Ibla to the son of Ammitakum I (\*35). He probably had close connections with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL and with the king, as revealed by the title ŠEŠ LUGAL, "the *aḫi šarri*, the brother of the king". This title should be born in mind when drawing the family trees of the dynasties of Iamḫad and Alalah. We have already referred to this problem. When discussing text \*56, we pointed out that this sale contract was witnessed by two prominent personalities, Abba-il, king of Iamḫad and Iarimlim, the *aḫi šarri*. This title has until now been interpreted in two different ways. According to the first the two dynasties were related to each other, since Iarimlim who moved to Alalah was Abba-il's brother. The second argues for two separate dynasties, since the Iarimlim inaugurated in the temple of Ištar in Alalah was the son of Ḥammurāpi, but not the son of Ḥammurāpi I, king of Iamḫad, the father of Abba-il. In my opinion the *aḫum*<sup>211</sup> does not designate a consanguinity in this case.<sup>212</sup> A. Draffkorn<sup>213</sup> translates the word *aḫum* occurring in text \*56 as "confederate", H. Klengel<sup>214</sup> advocated "Stammesgenossen, Verwandte", and I. M. Diakonoff<sup>215</sup> rendered the word as "arḫar". I would thus also reject N. Na'aman's<sup>216</sup> and D. Collon's<sup>217</sup> suggestions in favour of the views put forward by A. Goetze<sup>218</sup> and W. Nagel—E. Stommenger<sup>219</sup> according to which the two dynasties were unrelated.

Thus this term should be regarded as a title and not as a designation of consanguinity also in the case of Šamši-Addu.

Irpa-Addu's other son, Šamši-Addu's brother was called Šinurabi. He was a contemporary of Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL, but he was also active under the reign of Ammitakum II. When discussing the text \*78



Table 5

Kings of Iamhad	Rulers of Alalah						
		Irpa-Addu	Šamsi-Addu	Šinurabi	Mešarum	Ešarmalik	Abia
Abba-il	Iarimlim I	*56 *76 *77 *456					
Iarimlim II	Ammitakum I	*32	*30 *98d *245 *255 *258 *276 *378	*245 *248 *265	*95	*378 *7	
Niqmepuḫ			*7 *63				
	Iarimlim II	*41 *256	*60 *98a *96	*242 *246		*238 *260 *264 *269 *278 *280	
Irkabtum		*65 *57	*57		*57		*64
	Ammitakum II		*80 *203	*80 *78			
Iarimlim III							
Hammurāpi II							

Table 6

Kings of Iambad	Rulers of Alalah	Texts with Iambadian and Alalahian ruler names	Texts only with the kings of Iambad	Texts only with the rulers of Alalah	Ration lists according to their relationship with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL	Texts related to the rulers of Alalah indirectly
Abba-il	Iarimlim I	*1 *56 *456	(*346) *76 *77			
Iarimlim II			*455 *126 *127		*271(g)	
	Ammitakum I	*18 *32 *79 *95		*19 *28 ? *29 *30 *31 *35 *86 *98c	(a) (b) *247 *241 *248 *251 *249 *245 *255 *261 *258 *263 *268 *244 *272 *262	*34 *62 *98b *98d *120 *367 *369
Niqmepuh	(Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL)	*7 *8 *55	*63	*378 *410 ?	*276 *277 *279	*370 *373 *376 *377 *384
(Irkabtum DUMU LUGAL)	Iarimlim II	*9 *11 *52	*96	*10 *41 *53 *98f	(c) (d) (e) *240 *242 *253 *265 *246 *256 *252 *278 *260 *243 *267 *264 *273 *269 *283b *274 *280 *254 *283a *238 *257(g)	*40 *57 *60 *97 *98a *204 *205 *206 *357 *366 *368
Irkabtum			*33 *58 *64 *38 *65			
	Ammitakum II	*54		*20 *23 *24 *25 *26 *28 ? *59 *78 *80 *98c ? *409 *410 ? *411 ?	(f) *281 *239 *259 *266 *270 *272	*36 *203 *359 *360
Iarimlim III		*6 *27 *61	*37 *44			
Ḫammurāpi II		*21 *22	*39			



we pointed out that he procured the settlement of Kunuwa from Ammitakum II by exchange. Kunuwa was originally in the possession of Ammar-Addu, a former debtor of Irpa-Addu. Šinurabi received his rations from the palace, but his exact office remains unknown.

There is hardly any evidence as regards the third son, Mešarum. He is listed among witnesses in text \*95: r. 15, assigned to the reign of Ammitakum I – Ammitakum II, and in tablet \*57 recording a claim filed by Šamši-Addu after the death of their father.

The next generation is represented by Šamši-Addu's son, Eṭarmalik who also stood in royal service, *nārum*-priest, receiving his rations from the royal household.

The last known member of the family was Ahia who, as a grandson of Šamšo-Addu, witnessed a sale contract, tablet ÷64, dated with the year name of Irkabtum, which records that the lady Sumunnabi purchased a 3 *ikûs* large vineyard in the town of Airraše.

The evidence pertaining the four generations of this family has been assembled in Table 5.

For the sake of clarity we have tabulated the chronological correlations outlined before in a separate table, Table 6. We have listed the tablets dated with the year names of the rulers of Iamḥad and Alalah in separate columns, and tablets dated only with the year name of a king of Alalah or Iamḥad also in separate columns. Text which could only be set within this chronological framework indirectly through the formers have been listed in the last column.

## 6. *Texts remaining outside the chronological system*

In his publication of the Alalahian texts D. J. Wiseman marked 171 "items" with asterisk, indicating thereby that these tablets were found in level VII. We used the word item only because \*443, \*444 and \*444b have mentions more than one seal impressions. Apart from the main corpus D. J. Wiseman published in addition two tablets from level VII, \*455 and \*456, thus we now have a total of 173 tablets (fragments also including). Of the 173 tablets only 131 (76 percent) have been set within the chronological system which was established and refined as regards the ration lists on the basis of N. Na'aman's results.

The four tablets comprising ration lists assigned to group *g* have not been included in this system, similarly to the three "items" preserving the seal impressions. The majority of the remaining 35 tablets could not be set within this system either because they did not mention any personal names or because they mentioned names which do not occur elsewhere. In contrast to the majority of our texts the tablets not containing names of sovereigns were suitable for prosopographical analyses since this type of analyses is often rendered difficult by the omission of the patronymic, a characteristic feature of name giving in Alalah.

The tablets not discussed in the foregoing can be assigned to the following types. Tablets \*42 and \*319 can be linked for both mention the

settlement of Alime, even though they do not contain personal names. Three lines of tablet \*319 record that 50 DUG Ì.GIŠ / UGU LÚ.MEŠ / *ša uru A-la-ma*. The interpretation of tablet \*42 is somewhat problematical; it is nevertheless a good example of collectiv responsibility.<sup>220</sup>

Tablet \*45 records that the town of Uniga borrowed 10 *šiqłums* of silver. Tablet \*119 has not yet been analysed for the lady Sumunnabi must also be discussed briefly in relation to the family trees. Text \*119 is an account of a theft. The lady Sumunnabi sent a certain man up to a third person who lived in the Hurri land with 40 *paršums* of barley, a certain amount of which was roasted. The "messenger", however, opened the sacks at night and stole the barley. When the case was taken to court(?), Talm-ammu and Uštini-Addu were presented as witnesses.<sup>221</sup> Three of securely dated occurrences of the lady Sumunnabi fall into the reign of Irkabtum (\*53, \*64, \*65), but one, \*96, was written during the reign of Niqmepuh, the ration list which mentions her name can be found of group *b* (\*244), which can be assigned to the days of Ammitakum I – Niqmepuh, and another one (\*59) can be indirectly dated to the time of Ammitakum II. It can also be indirectly proved that the lady Sumunnabi began her activity during the reign of Ammitakum I. The afore-mentioned witnesses listed in text \*119 also appear in text \*36. This latter was touched upon in the discussion of Niqma-Addu, it has been demonstrated that the text can be dated to the reign of Ammitakum II. It is thus highly probable that tablet \*119 can also be ascribed to this period.

Neither the autography, nor the transliteration of tablet \*178 (which was not marked by asterisk, but is assigned to the texts from level VII by its excavation number, AIT/39/ 34) has yet been published, it is a list recording 60 personal names.

The three tablets numbered \*320 – \*322 are linked by the name of the settlement of Murar. The settlement which was the possession of the Alalahian king supplied the centre with oil (see \*456: 17, 38). In connection with Murar we mention the tablet \*120, where in line 1 Naḥmi-Dagan is mentioned (see 4.4.1.). It is possible that Naḥmi-Dagan's oil tree plantations are in connection with the oil transportation of texts \*320 – \*322. He was active during the reign of Niqmepuh and Irkabtum.

Tablet \*324b can be associated with the settlement of Kubiia (\*34: 3, \*280: 9). The settlement is mentioned in texts from the reign of Irkabtum – Ammitakum I and Iarimlim II.

Text \*334 can be linked with Kussi, the *bārūm*-priest, 43 cattle of differing sex and age are handed into his custody. Text \*355 records that the king received 17 wild cattle. The lady Irpaabi mentioned in \*347: line 2 (who gave 31 sheep to Irkabtum, the man of Illeda?), also appears in \*409: line 16, where she is listed among those who received various gifts. Tablet \*409 was assigned to the reign of Ammitakum II. It seems possible that Illeda was commissioned by Irkabtum, king of Halab. Tablet \*348 is an account of 29 sheep distributed to the town of Emār. Text \*358 records the transportation of wool to Arazik and Ugarit. Tablet \*359 has already been discussed in relation to Arria (see p. 37). According to



\*372, 184 *šiqłums* of silver were delivered into the hands of Hub-ambi for an offering table. \*371 is a list of gold objects. Tablet \*374 is paralleled by text \*373, dated to reign of Ammitakum I, through the mention of Tizu-ge (\*374: line 1).

The activity of Herze, the son of Wullu-ra (\*375) who is mentioned together with Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL (\*247: 9; group *a*), can be traced to the reign of Iarimlim II, king of Alalah (\*240: 3, 12; group *c*), and Ammitakum II (\*36), but also to the reign of Irkabtum (\*33: 8).

Since the town of Tunip (\*375: 3) in, is mentioned groups *b-c-dd-e* of the ration lists, text \*375 can perhaps be ascribed to the reign of Iarimlim II of Alalah, or perhaps even earlier, Ammitakum I. The LUGAL GAL in \*375: 10 can perhaps be equated with Niqmepuḥ (\*269: 48; \*376: 4).

Text \*379 can be linked chronologically to \*52 which was dated with royal names of both dynasties, and it probably records a purchase made in the days of Niqmepuḥ – Iarimlim II of Alalah. Tablet \*380 is linked to the former through Abi-Addu.

Tablet \*381 in which a certain Šarru-we makes an appearance can hardly be associated with \*274: 19 which mentions a GİR Šarru-we, the son of a *šangû*-priest. Tablet \*382 has already been mentioned in relation to Haššu, the son of Wari-tte. \*383 is an account of 4 1/2 *šiqłums* of silver refunded to the royal household by Ewari-gawe; the name of Millamu(?) UGULA who received the money, does not occur elsewhere in our texts. \*385 is a similar receipt. Insofar as the Killi-ya of \*386: line 3, who failed to refund 3 *šiqłums* of silver is identical with the person bearing an identical name in \*270: line 31, it is possible that text \*385 was also written during the reign of Ammitakum II. The person who redeemed their debts and those receiving them mentioned in texts \*388 and \*389 are not documented elsewhere.

Lutukinda, a *Kaššû* man appearing in \*412: 6 is otherwise unknown. Text \*413 enumerates the treasures of the Nergal sanctuary, but does not list any personal names. Text \*414, a list of objects allotted to the lady Tamar-he by the *šangû*-priest, cannot be dated. Tablet \*432, a list of objects mainly with their Hurrian names, does not mention any personal names.

## 7. Some notes on the lady Sumunnabi

At this point we should revert to the relationship between the lady Sumunnabi and the dynasty of Alalah. D. J. Wiseman<sup>222</sup> was the first to suggest that Sumunnabi "is almost certainly Ammitakum's sister, a member of the royal family of Aleppo", since according to text \*33 she loaned silver according to the weight of Halab, "and possibly related to Naḥmi-Dagan". In his review article, Å. L. Oppenheim<sup>223</sup> stated that Sumunnabi is the "daughter of the ruler of Alalah". H. Klengel<sup>224</sup> accepted D. J. Wiseman's suggestion: "Sumunnabi war wohl eine Schwester des Ammitakum von Alalah". A consanguinity of this kind cannot, however, be definitely proved on the testimony of our texts.

D. Collon<sup>225</sup> also seconded D. J. Wiseman's suggestion that Sumunnabi was the daughter of Iarimlim and Ammitakum's sister, and proposed that "in AT 411 we have a record of the dedication of the daughter of a governor of Alalah to the Weather-god [IM]: Sumunnabi and this bride of the god's may have been one and the same person". We have already established that this text deals with the daughter of Ammitakum, and that the autography of the text implies that the "bridegroom" mentioned in line 22 was not Adad/Tešup, but a person whose name includes a theophoric element, <sup>d</sup>IM. Insofar as the bride-groom was Ari-Tešub, the text refers to Ammitakum II and his daughter Biia, and to her wedding.<sup>226</sup>

Recently N. Na'aman<sup>227</sup> published his collations in connection with \*96. In line 4 we can read: [a-n]a m[i]Su-mu-un-na-bi (5) DUMU.MÍ ša L[UGAL?]. The autography of obverse was not published by D. J. Wiseman, but it is seen from the transliteration the last sign of line 5 is broken out, therefore, in my opinion, the LUGAL sign is problematic. If she would have been really the daughter of a king, her several occurrence offered enough possibility to mention her family relations.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> B. Landsberger, 1954: 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 3, 8.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Albright, 1956: 26 ff.

<sup>4</sup> S. Smith, 1956: 39, note 40; S. Smith, 1957.

<sup>5</sup> A. Goetze, 1957: 20 ff.; A. Goetze, 1957a: 63 ff.

<sup>6</sup> J.-R. Kupper, 1957: 233, note 1.; J.-R. Kupper, 1963: 32 ff., on page 34 we can read the following: "There is still, however, one difficulty: Iarimlim certainly seems to be the son of Abbael, that is to say the grandson of Hammurapi of Aleppo, Zimrilim's contemporary . . ."; which D. Collon (1975: 144, note 2) — in agreement with the former author — corrected as "Iarimlim certainly seems to be the brother of Abbael, that is to say the son of Hammurapi of Aleppo . . .".

<sup>7</sup> A. E. Draffkorn, 1959a: 14.

<sup>8</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 102 ff.

<sup>9</sup> H. Tadmor, 1970: 76 ff.

<sup>10</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976.

<sup>11</sup> D. Collon, 1975; D. Collon, 1977: 127 ff.

<sup>12</sup> A. Goetze, 1957: 22, 24.

<sup>13</sup> W. Nagel — E. Strommenger, 1958: 109.

<sup>14</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 130.

<sup>15</sup> The latter two are interchanged by D. Collon, 1975: 149; and also by N. Na'aman, 1979: 110.

<sup>16</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 6, No. 3 and perhaps No. 4; D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 3, 30.

<sup>17</sup> For additional data on Hammurapi I see H. Klengel, 1965: 107 f.

<sup>18</sup> See D. J. Wiseman, 1953, 25; W. F. Albright, 1957: 27 (lines 5–9); H. Klengel, 1965: 136 f. (lines 1–13).

<sup>19</sup> See also S. Smith, 1957: 177 f.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, 1969b: 213 ff.; E. Gaál, 1976: 42.

<sup>21</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1958: 125 ff.; A. Draffkorn, 1959: 95 f. (lines 27–62); H. Klengel, 1965: 138 (lines 19–39); W. G. Lambert, 1959a: 132.

<sup>22</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 52, Pl. xx; H. Klengel, 1965: 139; E. Gaál, 1976a: 6.

<sup>23</sup> For the interpretation of the text, see D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 52, Pl. xx; H. Klengel, 1965: 139 f., 153 f.; E. Gaál, 1972: 105; E. Gaál, 1976: 43; E. Gaál, 1976a: 6 f.

<sup>24</sup> For comments see D. J. Wiseman, 1953, 48, Pl. xiv-xv; H. Klengel, 1965: 139; E. Gaál, 1972: 98 ff.; E. Gaál, 1976a: 5.



- <sup>25</sup> For the text see D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 97, Pl xxv.
- <sup>26</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 8, No. 5; D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 113, 444a, Pl. xlv.
- <sup>27</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 39 f., No. 62; 70, No. 130; 154.
- <sup>28</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 154.
- <sup>29</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 70, note 3.
- <sup>30</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 136.
- <sup>31</sup> W. Nagel – E. Strommenger, 1958: 110.
- <sup>32</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 147.
- <sup>33</sup> See N. Na'aman, 1976: 129 ff.; D. Collon, 1977: 127 ff.
- <sup>34</sup> M. Tsevat, 1958: 116; H. Klengel, 1963: 90, note 60.
- <sup>35</sup> W. Nagel – E. Strommenger, 1958: 111; H. Klengel, 1965: 143; N. Na'aman, 1976: 132, table 1.
- <sup>36</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 143, 166, notes 54 – 56; H. Klengel, 1969: 106.
- <sup>37</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 153, note 1.
- <sup>38</sup> D. Collon, 1965: 156 f.
- <sup>39</sup> D. Collon, 1977: 128.
- <sup>40</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 139; N. Na'aman, 1979: 110.
- <sup>40a</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 127, index.
- <sup>41</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 129.
- <sup>42</sup> E. Gaál, 1976: 39 ff.; N. Na'aman, 1976: 134 f.
- <sup>43</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 132 f.
- <sup>44</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 143 f.
- <sup>45</sup> D. Collon, 1977: 129.
- <sup>46</sup> E. Gaál, 1978a: 148, note 30.
- <sup>47</sup> H. Klengel, 1965a: 87 ff.
- <sup>48</sup> It should be mentioned that the interpretation was based on the restoration of the text by S. Smith, 1957: 176 and N. Na'aman, 1976: 134, "...[A]ft[er] the death<sup>1</sup> of Yarimlim, ruler of Alalakh, PN has sued<sup>1</sup> against Ammita<sup>1</sup>qum. [They en]tered<sup>1</sup> upon [le]gal proce[edings]<sup>1</sup> before king Yarimlim<sup>0</sup>".
- <sup>49</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 63.
- <sup>50</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1962: 181, note 7; cf. H. Klengel, 1965: 144, who rejected this possibility on the basis of 'he autography of the two texts.
- <sup>51</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 63.
- <sup>52</sup> S. Smith, 1957: 179 f.
- <sup>53</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 144 f.
- <sup>54</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 163, sub *suharu*.
- <sup>55</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 44.
- <sup>56</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 44.
- <sup>57</sup> G. Giacomakis, 1970: 90.
- <sup>58</sup> W. von Soden, AHW 722 b, sub *nakuššu* "Ersatzmann?".
- <sup>59</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 112 f.
- <sup>60</sup> E. Gaál, 1976: 41.
- <sup>61</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 63; D. J. Wiseman, 1962: 181, note 7; H. Klengel, 1965: 203.
- <sup>62</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 9, No. 6, 147 f., 155; D. J. Wiseman, 1953: = 36, seal 7 e.
- <sup>63</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 77, No. 141, 153 ff.
- <sup>64</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 153, note 2.
- <sup>65</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 19, No. 20; D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 36.
- <sup>66</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 19, note 3.
- <sup>67</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 1 ff., 30.
- <sup>68</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 134, 136.
- <sup>69</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 11, No. 10; D. Collon, 1977: 129.
- <sup>70</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1959a: 60.
- <sup>71</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 1.
- <sup>72</sup> cf. D. Collon, 1975: 210 f., Pl. ii.
- <sup>73</sup> G. Komoróczy, 1974: 82, note 12.
- <sup>74</sup> AHW 1012a, "Präfekt"; G. Buccellati, 1963: 224 ff., MAŠKIM – *sākinu* [ – *rābišum*], did not consider the evidence from Alalah; G. Giacomakis, 1970: 98.
- <sup>75</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 36; D. Collon, 1975: 9, No. 6.
- <sup>76</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 140.

- <sup>77</sup> For the legal interpretation of the text see S. E. Loewenstamm, 1956a: 223.
- <sup>78</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 140, 206.
- <sup>79</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56.
- <sup>80</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 137.
- <sup>81</sup> D. Collon, 1977: 130, note 11.
- <sup>82</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 140.
- <sup>83</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 140.
- <sup>84</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 111.
- <sup>85</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 141.
- <sup>86</sup> E. Gaál, 1982, in press.
- <sup>87</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 10, No. 8 = AT \*443a; No. 7 and No. 9?
- <sup>88</sup> N. Na'aman, 1977: 107, note 17.
- <sup>89</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 43; H. Klengel, 1965: 142.
- <sup>90</sup> See point 7.
- <sup>91</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 110 f.
- <sup>92</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 141.
- <sup>93</sup> M. Dietrich—O. Loretz, 1970: 119, note 29.
- <sup>94</sup> It should be mentioned that A. Draffkorn, 1959a, did not mention this hurrian name; F. Gröndahl, 1967: 252, sub *sigil*.
- <sup>95</sup> E. Gaál, 1972: 101 f.; E. Gaál, 1973: 33, note 20; E. Gaál, 1976a: 6, note 21.
- <sup>96</sup> It should be mentioned that S. Smith, 1956: 40, note 3, and 1957: 173, does not regard these lines as genuine year names; cf. N. Na'aman, 1976: 139, notes to Table 4, 2; N. Na'aman, 1979: 108.
- <sup>97</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 110.
- <sup>98</sup> W. Nagel—E. Strommenger, 1958: 109 ff.; H. Klengel, 1965: 143 f., 285; D. Collon, 1975: 148 f.; D. Collon, 1977: 129, note 9.
- <sup>99</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 137, c.
- <sup>100</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 11, No. 10.
- <sup>101</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 208; N. Na'aman, 1976: 130.
- <sup>102</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 146 f.; N. Na'aman, 1976: 140.
- <sup>103</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 136, note 24.
- <sup>104</sup> D. Collon, 1977: 127, note 3.
- <sup>105</sup> D. Collon, 1975.
- <sup>106</sup> O. R. Gurney, 1974: 109.
- <sup>107</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 143, 1720—1650 B.C.; D. Collon, 1977: 127.
- <sup>108</sup> M. B. Rowton, 1958: 100 f.
- <sup>109</sup> O. R. Gurney, 1974: 108.
- <sup>110</sup> B. Lukács—L. Végső, 1972: 237 ff.
- <sup>111</sup> B. Lukács—L. Végső, 1972: 244 ff., tables 5—6, figs. 3—4.
- <sup>112</sup> B. L. Eichler, 1973: 74 f.
- <sup>113</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 138, table 4.
- <sup>114</sup> Cf. N. Na'aman, 1976: 140, table 5.
- <sup>115</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 44 ff., No. 76; 46, note 1; D. Collon, 1977: 127 f.
- <sup>116</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 138.
- <sup>117</sup> D. Collon, 1977: 127 f.; but cf. N. Na'aman, 1979: 108, note 22.
- <sup>118</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 158, Pl. lviii.
- <sup>119</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 15 f., 37, 46, 47 f.; N. Na'aman, 1979, 111.
- <sup>120</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 136, table 3.
- <sup>121</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 158.
- <sup>122</sup> See p. 5 where we listed all the occurrences of Niqmepuh/Niqmepa.
- <sup>123</sup> J.-R. Kupper, 1954: 119.
- <sup>124</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 140.
- <sup>125</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 68, No. 126.
- <sup>126</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56, 139.
- <sup>127</sup> The autography of the fragment has not been published yet, but according to D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56, only fragments of 9 lines can be seen.
- <sup>128</sup> J.-R. Kupper, 1954: 119.
- <sup>129</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 28; N. Na'aman, 1976: 138, table 4; a contemporary of Nakkushe, the son of Kula who was active under Ammitakum I—II, Iarimlim and Niqmepuh.



- 130 \*369: 7-9 *i-nu-ma* / *LÚ uruBi-ti<sub>4</sub>-in* / *i-di-nu*, the interpretation of these lines is somewhat problematical, D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 101, translated them as "and now given by the governor of the town Bidin"; in my view these lines refer to the visit of *awēlum* of Bitin ("in the time of the *awēlum* of the town Bitin it was given / it was purchased"); in connection with Bitin see \*259: 4, 5, 9, 10; \*266: 4, LUGAL *uruBūtinki*, 5; \*268: 15, *lūDUMU LÚ uruBūtinki* Iarimlim DUMU LUGAL also appears in this text.
- 131 D. Collon, 1975: 87 f., No. 159.
- 132 D. Collon, 1975: 13 f.
- 133 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 127.
- 134 D. Collon, 1975: 20 f., No. 23; 20, note 2.
- 135 J. Nougayrol - P. Amiet, 1962: 169.
- 136 D. Collon, 1975: 88, No. 160, note 2.
- 137 A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 64.
- 138 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 38.
- 139 N. Na'aman, 1976: 138.
- 140 D. Collon, 1977, 127.
- 141 N. Na'aman, 1979: 108, note 23.
- 142 D. Collon, 1975: 16, note 2.
- 143 D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 22; D. J. Wiseman, 1959: 30.
- 144 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56.
- 145 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 127.
- 146 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 143.
- 147 D. Collon, 1975: 15 f., No. 15.
- 148 D. Collon, 1975: Pl. lviii, AT 18A, *sissiktu*.
- 149 B. L. Eichler, 1973: 66 f.
- 150 W. von Soden, AHW 300; CAD G (1956) 146 f.
- 151 N. Na'aman, 1976: 138.
- 152 B. L. Eichler, 1973: 70 f.
- 153 D. Collon, 1975: 16, note 2; D. Collon, 1977: 127 f., note 4.
- 154 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 43, Pl. xi.
- 155 M. Tsevat, 1958: 116.
- 156 B. L. Eichler, 1973: 64.
- 157 H. Klengel, 1965: 147.
- 158 W. von Soden, AHW 519.
- 159 W. von Soden, AHW 344; CAD H (1956) 182.
- 160 D. Collon, 1975: 66, No. 124.
- 161 N. Na'aman, 1976: 139.
- 162 N. Na'aman, 1979: 110, 112.
- 163 N. Na'aman, 1979: 110.
- 164 I. Gelb, 1967: 5.
- 165 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 53.
- 166 This judgement presupposes that Abba-il was satisfied with it, lines 14-17, ... *mAb-ba-AN* / *a-na Am-mi-ta-ku-um-ma* / *i-na ur-ki-ù U<sub>4</sub>-mi* / *mi-im-ma ú-ul iq-qa-ab-bi*.
- 167 D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56; D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 8.
- 168 N. Na'aman, 1979: 110, listed among the undetermined tablets.
- 169 M. Tsevat, 1958: 124, his reading, TUG.SAG<sub>4</sub>.GA is based on ŠL II 536: 244; this type of garment also appears in \*414: line 2, G. Giacomakis, 1970: 85.
- 170 S. Greengus, 1966: 71, suggested that it was Ammitakum's son, and not Ammitakum himself who was married.
- 171 E. Gaál, 1982: in press.
- 172 N. Na'aman, 1979: 107.
- 173 D. Collon, 1975: 145.
- 174 A. Goetze, 1959: 34.
- 175 W. von Soden, AHW 1140; G. Komoróczy, 1974: 82, note 12, he quoted E. Sollberger, 1966: 172, No. 656.
- 176 D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 21; D. J. Wiseman, 1959: 27.
- 177 D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 22; D. J. Wiseman, 1959: 30.
- 178 D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 23; D. J. Wiseman, 1959: 30.
- 179 A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 120 f.

- <sup>180</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 496a, "ein Diener"; J. Aistleitner, WUS, No. 1297, "Wagenlenker?"; E. Cassin, 1962: 71, "un moyen terme entre le servent d'armes"; M. A. Dandamajev, 1974: 376, note 135.
- <sup>181</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 285b; CAD G (1956) 94 f.; M. Birot, 1960: 341.
- <sup>182</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 1141, B "Eingesetzter", *sākinu*, AHw 1012a, "Präfekt"; G. Buccellati, 1963: 223 ff.; N. B. Jankowska, 1969a: 262.
- <sup>183</sup> A. Goetze, 1959: 36.
- <sup>184</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 51, No. 90.
- <sup>185</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 338b, 'Bürgermeister'; CAD H (1956) 163 ff.; I. M. Diakonoff, 1968: 17, note 63; N. B. Jankowska, 1957: 32; N. B. Jankowska, 1969: 273 ff.; J. N. Postgate, 1974: 105.
- <sup>186</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 132, table 1.
- <sup>187</sup> M. L. Heltzer, 1971: 129, note 39, "es ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass sie als Hilfspersonal bei den *maryannu* dienten".
- <sup>188</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 91 f., No. 165.
- <sup>189</sup> According to D. J. Wiseman, 1954: 8, line 18 reads on the autograph *na<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB Šu-ba-ḫa-ī*, but this seal was not published by D. Collon, 1975: 159 for in her opinion only three seals (Nos. 51, 90, 93) can be seen on the tablet, as opposed to the five seals mentioned by D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 56; D. Collon, 1975: Pl. lix published a photograph of the tablet, but it is overshadowed.
- <sup>190</sup> Cf. J. M. Sasson, 1969: 16, 47, note 63.
- <sup>191</sup> R1A I 443 ff.; E. G. Klauber, 1910: 54 ff.; P. Koschaker, 1933: 73 ff.; H. Lewy, 1942: 2, note 4; N. B. Jankowska, 1969: 277 ff.
- <sup>192</sup> M. Tsevat, 1958: 123, note 94.
- <sup>193</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 79 f., No. 146.
- <sup>194</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 834 f.; E. Salonen, 1970: 233 ff.
- <sup>195</sup> A. Goetze, 1959: 35.
- <sup>196</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 18, No. 19; D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 113, \*443 c.
- <sup>197</sup> T. Jacobsen, 1957: 119, note 59; J. Bauer, 1972: 103.
- <sup>198</sup> W. F. Leemans, 1954: 93; J. Bottéro, 1957: 237; M. Birot, 1960: 327.
- <sup>199</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1959: 20; A. Goetze, 1959: 34; A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 62; G. Giacomakis, 1970: 99.
- <sup>200</sup> A. Goetze, 1959: 34 and D. Collon, 1975: 47, No. 80, they regard them as being identical.
- <sup>201</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 30, favours an *E-wa-ri-na* reading.
- <sup>202</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 94, No. 174: *We-ri-[ki-ba]* / SUKKAL *la-[ri-im-li-im]* / [I]R [*ša dx*], this cannot be regarded as the seal of *Weri-muza*, for this name was borne by a cup-bearer and a weaver.
- <sup>203</sup> The envelope of tablet ÷ 61; D. Collon, 1975: 47, No. 81; N. Na'aman, 1979: 111, note 25.
- <sup>204</sup> \*76: 1; M. C. Astour, 1963: 236, associated the toponym with the *dimtu*; as a toponym see AHw 170b f.; the settlement of *Dimāt* was exchanged for the settlement of *Ituwa* by Abba-il.
- <sup>205</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 77, No. 141.
- <sup>206</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 133 f., notes 19–20, in the form of *Sa-ap-si-e-da*; J. Aistleitner, WUS, No. 2667–2668; F. Gröndahl, 1967: 195; in Alalah there is a *Sa-ap-ši-a-du* form, too.
- <sup>207</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 110 f.
- <sup>208</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 153, notes 19–20.
- <sup>209</sup> N. Na'aman, 1974: 274, note 55.
- <sup>210</sup> M. Tsevat, 1958: 117 f.
- <sup>211</sup> W. von Soden, AHw 21a f.; CAD A I (1964) *aḫu* A, 195 ff.
- <sup>212</sup> E. Gaál, 1972: 11; E. Gaál, 1976: 41.
- <sup>213</sup> A. Draffkorn, 1959a: 12.
- <sup>214</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 152.
- <sup>215</sup> I. M. Diakonoff, 1968: 13.
- <sup>216</sup> N. Na'aman, 1976: 130.
- <sup>217</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 143 f.
- <sup>218</sup> A. Goetze, 1957: 22, 24.
- <sup>219</sup> W. Nagel – E. Strommenger, 1958: 109.
- <sup>220</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, 1955: 198; M. Tsevat, 1958: 115 f., note 36; H. Klengel, 1963: 8, note 48.
- <sup>221</sup> E. Gaál, 1981: 133 f.



- <sup>222</sup> D. J. Wiseman, 1953: 43.  
<sup>223</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, 1955: 198.  
<sup>224</sup> H. Klengel, 1965: 142.  
<sup>225</sup> D. Collon, 1975: 150.  
<sup>226</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 108.  
<sup>227</sup> N. Na'aman, 1979: 110.

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